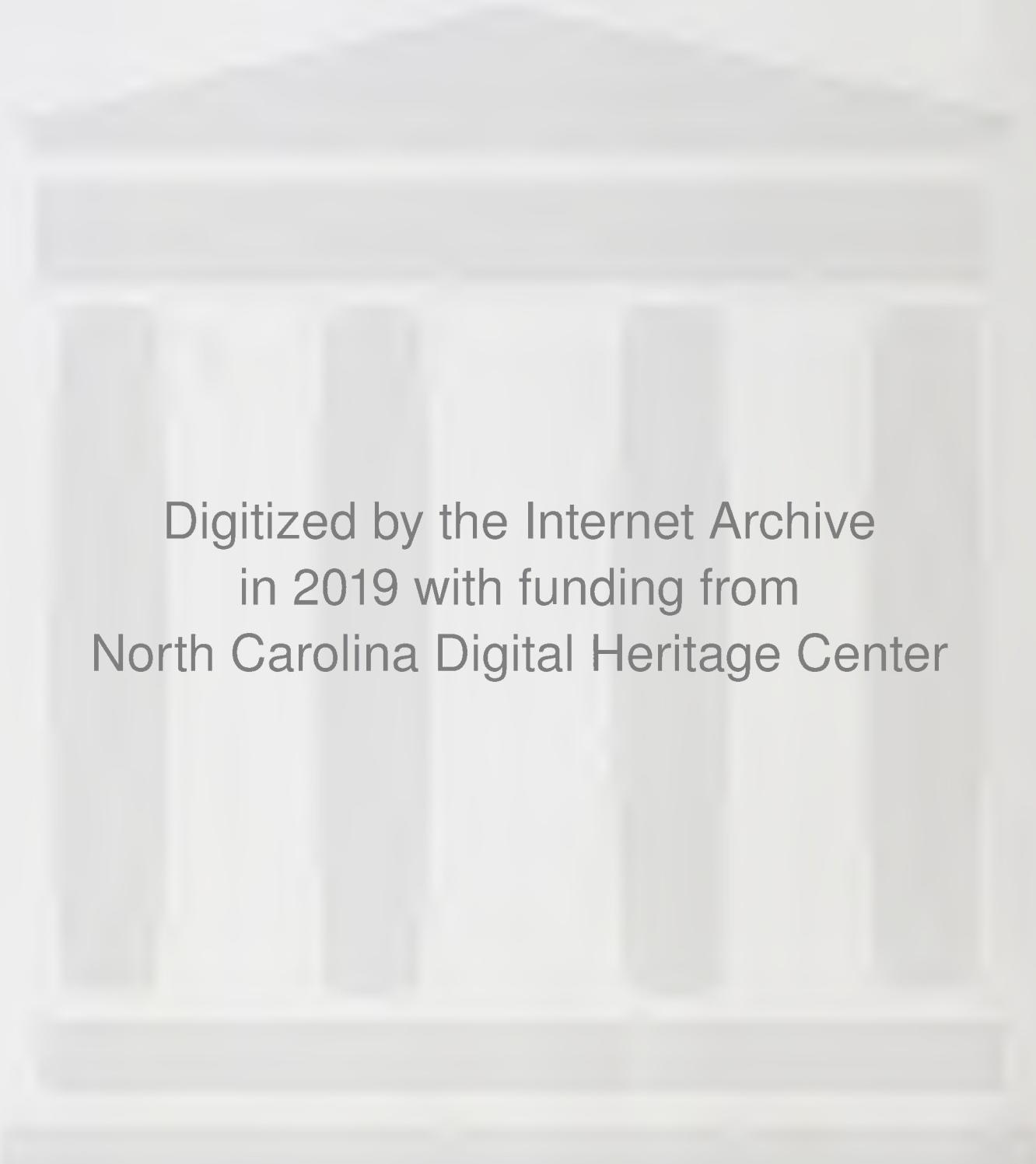






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JULY-OCT. 1921, JAN.-APR., 1922 Vol. XXI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION**
RALEIGH, N. C.

CONTENTS

Jefferson Davis----- BY DANIEL ALBRIGHT LONG-----	3
The Term "Pickett's Charge" is a Misnomer----- BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK-----	21
Richard Henderson : The Authorship of the Cumberland Compact and the Founding of Nashville----- BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON-----	28
A Brief Sketch of the Life of Mrs. M. A. Burwell----- BY A DISTINGUISHED LADY OF NORTH CAROLINA-----	51
A Picture of the Last Days of the Revolutionary War in North Carolina----- BY R. B. HOUSE-----	59
Grand Masters Spaight, Jenkins and Clark----- BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD-----	68
South Has Brilliant Array of Writers of Short Stories----- BY NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON-----	77
The Parishes in North Carolina----- BY FRED A. OLDS-----	81
Shipwreck Off Hatteras, 1812----- BY MRS. M. A. BURWELL-----	90
The Girl of Long Ago----- BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON-----	101
Letter from Reverend Charles Manly-----	108
Colonel James Martin, published by request-----	110

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Great Events in North Carolina History

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MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

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Brief Historical Notes will appear from time to time in THE BOOKLET, information that is worthy of preservation, but which if not preserved in a permanent form will be lost.

Historical Book Reviews will be contributed. These will be reviews of the latest historical works written by North Carolinians.

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Editor North Carolina Booklet,

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JULY-OCT. 1921, JAN.-APR. 1922

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The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"*

Published by
**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION**

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving
North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication
will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

EDITOR.

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JEFFERSON DAVIS

Address delivered by DANIEL ALBRIGHT LONG at Concord, North Carolina, June 3rd, 1921.

Comrades of the War between the States 1861-5: At your request I am today to speak of the place of Jefferson Davis in history.

One hundred and thirteen years ago Jefferson Davis, the youngest of ten children, was born in a log house in Christian County, now known as Todd County, Kentucky.

Before the Revolutionary War three Davis brothers came from Wales to Philadelphia. Evan Davis married a widow in Georgia, Mrs. Emory, with two sons. By this marriage there was an only child, named Samuel. The Revolutionary War was in progress when Samuel reached the age of fifteen, and his mother often sent him from Georgia to South Carolina to take food and clothing to his half-brothers, serving in the American Army. This man soon raised a company of infantry and was chosen captain. He led his company to Savannah and gained honors in rendering aid to the Americans. When the war ended he returned to his Georgia home and found his mother had died, the home was a wreck, all buildings burned, fences and crops destroyed. He then moved near Augusta, Ga., and began life as a farmer.

While a soldier in South Carolina he stopped one day on a march to ask for food at the home of a beautiful Scotch-Irish girl, named Jane Cook. He never forgot the charms of that young hostess. As soon as Samuel had a home of his own he needed a cook, so he returned to South Carolina and captured Jane Cook. Home life was happy. Many children came into

the home nest. They moved west and settled in Kentucky, where Jefferson Davis was born June 3rd, 1808. From Kentucky the family moved to Bayou Teche, Louisiana, but health was not good there so they moved to Woodville, Mississippi. Here at that time bear, deer and fish were abundant and the Davis boys had fine sport, working on the farm, hunting, fishing and going to the nearby school, in a log cabin. This was "Jeff's" first school, going at the age of five, with his sister Polly.

The War of 1812 was soon on, and three of the brothers joined Andrew Jackson's army. "Jeff" was sent away to school in Kentucky, and was the youngest boy in that school. In two years he was placed at Jefferson Academy, near home. At the age of 12 he entered Transylvania College, Kentucky. Here he was noted for respect for his professors, and was, according to their testimony, "the most polite boy in college." He was "considered the brightest and most intelligent of all the boys as well as the bravest and handsomest." His father died while he was at college. He grieved greatly over his death. His next move was to the United States Military Academy at West Point. He was only twenty years of age when he graduated there.

It was at West Point he studied "Rawle's View of the Constitution," which taught him that if a state seceded (showing that it was an acknowledged fact by the Constitution that a state had the right to secede) the duty of a soldier reverted to his state. Hence, Davis, Robert E. Lee, Thomas J. Jackson, Joseph E. Johnston, Albert Sidney Johnston and others, acting upon this instruction, cast their lot with their states in 1861. When the star of the Southern Confederacy paled to a close and the frail body of President Davis was loaded with chains and cast into a dungeon, and when those who camped outside of the Constitution to save the Union demanded his trial and execution, Chief Justice Chase said that a trial of Davis would condemn the North, and so no trial was ever held.

He was released on bail, but his political disabilities were never removed, although he lived to be eighty-one years, six months and three days old, and died December 6, 1889.

The Black Hawk War came soon after Davis left West Point. Among the brave young men who volunteered was Captain Abraham Lincoln, of Springfield, Illinois, and he was "mustered into service by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis, of the United States Army." This is the only record that these men ever met or were brought in personal contact with each other.

In a few years came the War with Mexico. Davis became a hero many times. At Monterey he distinguished himself; at Buena Vista he was wounded; he scaled the walls of the City of Mexico. This war over he was elected United States Senator, then became Secretary of War in President Pierce's cabinet. When Buchanan was made president Mississippi sent him back to the United States Senate.

The first wife of Davis was Sarah Knox Taylor, daughter of General Taylor. His bride, with whom he had eloped, lived three months. About eight years after he married Miss Varina Banks Howell, the daughter of William Burr Howell and a descendant of Lieutenant Howell of the War of 1812 and of General Howell of Revolutionary War fame. The life of Davis touches many Southern States. His mother was from South Carolina, his father from Georgia, he was born in Kentucky, lived in Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi and Virginia, fought to free Texas.

Men who had no special love for the South were forced to acknowledge the nobility of his character. The New York World said of him after his death: "Jefferson Davis was a man of commanding ability, spotless integrity, controlling conscience and a temper so resolute that at times it approached obstinacy. He was proud, sensitive and honorable in all his dealings and in every relation of life." Charles Francis Adams, a Union soldier and grandson of John Quincy Adams, said of Davis: "No fatal mistakes either of administration or strategy

were made which can be fairly laid to his account. He did the best possible with the means he had at his command. Merely the opposing forces were too many and too strong for him. Of his austerity, earnestness and fidelity there can be no more question than can be entertained of his capacity."

But up jumps the brassy, flashy, sky-rocket hater of the South and says: "It was impossible for Davis to be a patriot, and for the Confederate soldier to be fighting for liberty, when Slavery was the cornerstone of the Confederacy." To this I reply: The Southern States did not go to war for the perpetuation of slavery, but for the preservation of the principle of self-government.

Lincoln wrote Greely in 1862: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union and is not either to save or destroy slavery."

Davis wrote, February, 1861: "In any case our slave property will be eventually lost."

Not one Confederate soldier in ten ever owned a slave. Not one of them would restore slavery if he could by snapping a finger, much less by firing a gun.

General Lee and wife, long before the war, emancipated the slaves they inherited. General Grant and wife held on to those they inherited until they were freed by the Thirteenth Amendment.

General Joseph E. Johnston, A. P. Hill and Fitzhugh Lee never owned a slave.

But, say the haters, the Constitution of the Confederate States recognized slavery. To this I reply it did, but it prohibited the slave trade. The Constitution of the United States, as originally adopted by the thirteen colonies, contained three sections which recognized slavery and through the influence of New York and New England and two or three Southern States continued the slave trade for twenty years. Were all the brave soldiers of the Revolutionary War not seceders and

fighting for liberty, although slavery existed in every one of the thirteen colonies?

If George Washington, a slave holder, was a champion of liberty, why could not a soldier of the Confederacy be fighting for liberty too? Over 100,000 soldiers of the Union Army owned slaves. The time has come when men and women ought to speak and write truly, kindly and freely about our country and its history. The last soldier in the War between the States, North and South, will soon answer the last roll-call. All are one hundred per cent Americans. Their sons and grandsons responded alike when McKinley called and when Wilson called, and thousands of them sealed their devotion to their country with their heart's best blood. Let us garland the graves of all the brave soldiers alike.

You remember there have been a number of secessions in the United States, and many threatened ones.

1. "The thirteen colonies seceded from England and formed a 'Perpetual Union,' under the Article of Confederation, in 1776.
2. The Thirteen States seceded from the Perpetual Union and formed a Republic of Sovereign States, in 1787.
3. Texas seceded from Mexico and became a Republic, in 1836.
4. The Abolitionists, led by William Lloyd Garrison, seceded from the Constitution at Framingham, Mass., and publicly burned it, calling it a "league with hell and a covenant with death," the assembled multitude loudly applauding.
5. Eleven States seceded from the Union in 1861 and formed a Southern Confederacy.
6. The North seceded from the Constitution in 1861, when she attempted to coerce the eleven seceding states back into the Union." (Miss M. L. Rutherford.)
7. Under President McKinley, in 1898, the United States forced Cuba to secede from Spain.
8. Under President Roosevelt, in 1905, the United States forced Panama to secede from Colombia.

During the earlier days of the Union the right to secede was generally recognized. This right was asserted more than once by States of the North, who later refused to allow the South to assert the same claim. Massachusetts was a believer in the right to secede when John Quincy Adams declared on the floor of Congress, at the time of the admission of Texas as a state, that New England ought to secede, while the Hartford Convention threatened similar steps when our country was engaged in the War of 1812. Even at the time when the North declared the South had no right to secede, although having itself asserted that right previously, we see West Virginia encouraged and assisted in secession from the mother State.

Who was responsible for negro slavery in the South?

Bancroft says: "The sovereigns of England and Spain were the greatest slave merchants in the world." DuBois, the negro historian, says: "The American slave trade came to be carried on principally by United States capital, in United States ships, officered by United States citizens and under the United States flag." New England and New York furnished more slave ships than all the other states. Henry Watterson in the Louisville Courier Journal says: "Slavery existed in the beginning in both the North and the South. But the North, finding slave labor unsuited to its needs and, therefore, unprofitable, sold its slaves to the South, not forgetting to pocket the money it got for them, *having indeed at great profit brought them over from Africa in its ships.*"

July 16, 1859, Stephen A. Douglas, speaking at Bloomington, Illinois, said: "There is but one possible way in which slavery can be abolished, and that is by leaving a state perfectly free to form and regulate its institutions in its own way. That was the principle upon which this Republic was founded. Under its operations slavery disappeared from six of the twelve original slave-holding states; and this gradual system of emancipation went on quietly, peacefully and steadily so long as we in the free states minded our own business and left our neighbors alone."

Rev. J. W. Wellons, D. D., now of Elon College, N. C., is in his 96th year, born and reared in Virginia, not far from the place where Nat Turner, a negro preacher, in August, 1831, led the "Southampton Insurrection." He told me only a short time ago how the negroes attacked the whites at night and before the assault could be suppressed fifty-seven whites, principally women and children, had been killed in the most barbarous manner. Nat Turner was an educated slave. One of his lieutenants was a free negro. Instigators from without were responsible for the insurrection.

In the Work of W. E. Channing, D. D., American Unitarian Society, page 735, he says: "The adoption of the common system of agitation by the Abolitionists has not been justified . . . It has stirred up bitter passions and fierce fanaticism."

Abraham Lincoln (Lincoln-Douglas Debates, page 74) at Peoria, Illinois, October 16, 1854, said: "When Southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly powers were given me I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. What next? Free them and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings would not admit of that; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not."

The Abolitionists kept sending inflammatory papers and pamphlets, gratuitously, into the South, with amalgamation pictures (A South Side View of Slavery, Adams, page 108) in order, if possible, to stir up more Nat Turner insurrections. In the Memoirs of Margaret Mercer, by Morris, page 126, you may read what this good woman of Maryland said about these things. She manumitted her own slaves, but abhorred the idea of inciting the slaves to follow the example of Nat Turner.

She wrote Gerrit Smith: "For while the well disposed and faithful servants of kind masters will suffer and die with the whites in a general insurrection, the lawless and vicious will have in their power the massacre of men, women and children in their sleep. This is my apology for feeling and expressing the deepest indignation against the man who dares to throw the firebrand into the powder magazine while all are asleep and stands himself at a distance to see the mangled victims of his barbarous fury."

Prof. John W. Burgess, of Columbia University, in his History of the Civil War and the Constitution, page 329, says: "John Brown and his band had murdered five men and wounded some eight or ten more in their criminal movements at Harper's Ferry. Add to this the consideration that Brown certainly intended the wholesale massacre of the whites by the blacks." When this crime was punished what took place in the North? Prof. Burgess says, page 329: "It was certainly natural that the tolling of the church bells, the holding of prayer-meetings for the soul of John Brown, the draping of houses, the half-masting of flags, etc., in many parts of the North should appear to the people of the South to be evidences of a wickedness which knew no bounds and which was bent upon the destruction of the South by any means necessary to accomplish the result. Especially did terror and bitterness take possession of the hearts of the women of the South who saw in slave insurrection not only destruction and death, but that which to feminine virtue is a thousand times worse than the most terrible death."

Did we have a legal and moral right to secede? In the History of the United States by Rhodes (1861) Vol. III, page 214, he says: "There were at this time in the border states of Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky and Missouri unconditional secessionists and unconditional Union men; but the great body of the people, although believing that the wrongs of the South were grievous and cried for redress, deemed seces-

sion inexpedient. All denied either the right or feasibility of coercion."

After the death of John C. Calhoun Jefferson Davis was the ablest representative from the South in the United States Senate. In his farewell address to the Senate he said: "Now, Sir, we are confusing language very much. Men speak of revolution and when they say revolution they mean blood. Our fathers meant nothing of the sort. When they spoke of revolution they meant an inalienable right. When they declared as an inalienable right the power of the people to abrogate and modify their form of government whenever it did not answer the ends for which it was established they did not mean that they were going to sustain that by brute force. Are we, in the age of civilization and political progress, are we to roll back the whole current of human thought and again to return to the mere brute force which prevails between beasts of prey as the only method of settling questions between men? Is it to be supposed that the men who fought the battles of the Revolution for community independence terminated their great efforts by transmitting posterity to a condition in which they could only gain those rights by force? If so, the blood of the Revolution was shed in vain; no great principles were established; for force was the law of nature before the battles of the Revolution were fought." (Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, Vol. I, page 617.)

John Quincy Adams, speaking before the New York Historical Society in 1838 on the fiftieth anniversary of Washington's inauguration as President of the United States, said: "To the people alone there is reserved as well the dissolving as the constituent power and that power can be exercised by them only under the tie of conscience binding them to the retributive justice of heaven."

With these qualifications we may admit the right as vested in the people of every state of the Union with reference to the general government, which was exercised by the people of the

United Colonies with reference to the supreme head of the British Empire of which they formed a part and under these limitations the people of each state of the Union have a right to secede from the Confederated Union itself." (Buchanan's Administration, page 89.)

Abraham Lincoln, January 12, 1848, in Congress, said: "Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power have the right to rise up and shake off the existing government and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable and sacred right, a right which we hope and believe is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it. Any portion of such that can may revolutionize and make their own any or so much of the territory as they inhabit." (Abraham Lincoln, Speeches and Letters, N. & H., Vol. I., page 105.)

What a hard time the poor brother in black has had! Let me leave out entirely anything the people of the South said about him and give you a few specimens of what the great leaders of the North said about him. Stephen A. Douglas, at Ottawa, Illinois, August 21, 1858, said: "For one I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. I believe this government was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity forever, and I am in favor of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon Indians, negroes and other inferior races." (The Negro Problem, Abraham Lincoln's Solution, Pickett, page 245.)

General William T. Sherman, writing in July, 1860, said: "All the Congresses on earth can't make the negro anything else than what he is; he must be subject to the white man, or he must amalgamate or be destroyed. Two such races cannot live in harmony, save as master and slave. Mexico shows the result of general equality and amalgamation, and the Indians give a fair illustration of the fate of negroes if they

are released from the control of the whites." (General Sherman's Letters Home, Scribner's Magazine, April, 1909, page 400.)

William H. Seward, speaking at Detroit, Michigan, September 4, 1860, said: "The great fact is now fully realized that the African race here is a foreign and feeble element, like the Indians, incapable of assimilation, and that it is a pitiful exotic, unwisely and unnecessarily transplanted into our fields, and which is unprofitable to cultivate at the cost of the desolation of the native vineyard." (The Negro Problem, Abraham Lincoln's Solution, Pickett, page 449.)

Abraham Lincoln, in his speech at Quincy, Illinois, October 15, 1858, in the Lincoln-Douglas debate, said: "I have no purpose to introduce political and social equality between the white and black races. There is a physical difference between the two which, in my judgment, would probably forever forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality, and inasmuch as it becomes a necessity that there must be a difference, I, as well as Judge Douglas, am in favor of the race to which I belong having the superior position." (Abraham Lincoln, Speeches, Letters and State Papers, N. & H., Vol. I., page 457.)

In the same debate at Charleston, Illinois, September 18, 1858, he said: "I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races; that I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality." (Iden., page 457.)

1. I challenge anyone to disprove these quotations, and I challenge anyone to show where Jefferson Davis ever said or wrote anything as unkind to, or about, the colored race.

Where was the poor brother in black to go? In 1862, Illinois had a constitutional convention. Article XVIII provided, Section I: "No negro or mulatto shall immigrate or settle in this state after the adoption of the Constitution." The vote was taken and adopted by a majority of 100,590, barely one month before President Lincoln's first Proclamation of Emancipation. This you will find recorded in Illinois Convention Journal, 1862, page 1098. If his own state feared a few thousand negroes what could President Lincoln think of the Southern States with millions of them?

But enough of this. Here the white and colored races are living in peace. The attrition of the tide of time is gradually wearing off the asperities of other days. All hearts are beating in unison to the music of the Union and the Constitution. The Constitution has been amended many times since 1865. The race question is gradually being solved. The South is spending millions to educate the brother in black. If the demagogues will let the states alone, with their reserved sovereign rights, there will never be any possibility of going outside the Constitution to save the Union, or of going outside the Union to save the Constitution.

Horace Greely, in the New York Tribune, February 23, 1861, wrote: "We have repeatedly said, and we once more insist, that the great principle embodied by Jefferson, that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is sound and just; and that if the Slave States, the cotton states, or the Gulf states only choose to form an independent nation they have the moral right to do so."

On the 10th of April, 1861, only five days previous to the call for 75,000 soldiers, Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, in an official communication to the American Minister to Great Britain, wrote: "For these reasons he (the President) would not be disposed to reject a cardinal dogma of theirs (the Secessionists), namely, that the Federal Government could not reduce the seceding states to obedience by conquest, even though

he were disposed to question that proposition. But, in fact, the President willingly accepts it as true. Only an imperial or despotic government could subjugate thoroughly disaffected and insurrectionary members of the State. This Federal Republican system of ours of all forms of government is the very one which is most unfitted for such labor." (Diplomatic Correspondence, 1861, page 58.) When some mighty Thucydides shall arise to write the true history of the war of 1861-65, he may ask why the North decided to regard the Constitution of the United States as a scrap of paper and change from a "Federal Republic" to "an imperial or despotic government" so it "could subjugate thoroughly the South," and explain why the North had any better right to secede from the Constitution than the South had to secede from the Union.

The Legality: There was, and is, a dispute whether the States created the Federal Government and *delegated* to it the powers it has, or whether it is the creature of the whole people of the United States, acting as a great sovereign political unit. Read the Constitution of the United States, Article V., and ask yourself if the creature is greater than the creator.

In 1816, when Marshall of Virginia and Story of Massachusetts were members of Supreme Court of the United States the entire bench concurring, said: "The Government, then, of the United States can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution and the powers actually granted must be such as are expressly given, or given by necessary implication." (1. Wheaton, U. S. Reports, 326.)

In 1906, Justice Brewer, speaking for the Supreme Court of the United States, said: "As heretofore stated the constant declaration of this Court from the beginning is that this government is one of enumerated powers."

It is so today. If this should ever cease to be so this beautiful government would quickly become one of the mournful dreams of the past.

Article X, United States Constitution, says: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor

prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

Some of the ratifying conventions sought to make assurances doubly sure. Virginia, for instance, interpreting the Constitution as part of her ratification, said: "The powers granted under the Constitution may be reserved by the people whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression."

New York, followed by Rhode Island, as part of the *res gestae*, with reference to the powers delegated to the Federal Government said "the powers of government may be reserved by the people whenever it shall become necessary to their happiness."

Comrades, never forget that you fought for the rights for which your fathers fought under Washington, and that it is not a lost cause. Do not forget that the sovereignty of the United States is *delegated*; that of each state is inherent.

Shortly before leaving the bench in 1915 Justice Hughes of New York prepared the opinion in Kennedy, vs. Becker (241 U. S., 563). As thus prepared this opinion was subsequently adopted and delivered by the late Chief Justice White as the unanimous opinion of the Supreme Court. Concerning the power of the State of New York to control lands which were the subject of a treaty between Robert Morris and the Seneca Nation of Indians in 1797, the court says: "But the existence of the sovereignty of the State was well understood and this conception involved all that was necessarily implied in that sovereignty, whether fully appreciated or not."

According to Woolsey, Vattel and Proudhon, where any people set up a government and force the government from which they withdraw to sign a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, they ceased to be rebels and become belligerents. When any man calls you a rebel you may know that he is either an ignoramus, or too much prejudiced to appreciate an argument or see the truth.

Thousands of articles have been written and many eloquent and impassioned orations have been made since we found ourselves among the stranded fragments and floating timbers of 1861-65. The hero-worshippers deify their favorites, damn some with faint praise and send the remainder to everlasting uneasiness; but the great assize of the unprejudiced world's thought and conscience tries again and again the merits of controversies and brings victor and vanquished to the bar of its increasingly fair and discriminating judgment. The North and South were morally wrong for buying and selling human beings. The South was right in fighting for her rights under the Constitution.

Tremendous problems confront us now. Men and women, North, South, East and West, should bind it upon their fingers, write it upon their door-posts and impress it upon their children that the highest liberty is the reign of law. We should do all we can to Americanize and Christianize the incoming tide from other lands.

The Confederate soldier has always been the best friend the negro had. We will continue to cultivate friendly relations.

March 10th, 1884, Jefferson Davis made a speech to the Mississippi Legislature. I give a quotation: "Our people have accepted that decree; it therefore behooves them, as they may, to promote the general welfare of the Union, to show to the world that hereafter as heretofore the patriotism of our people is not measured by lines of latitude and longitude, but is as broad as the obligations they have assumed and embraces the whole of our ocean-bound domain. Let them leave to their children's children the good example of never swerving from the path of duty and preferring *to return good for evil* rather than to cherish the unmanly feeling of revenge."

These noble words gushed forth from as brave a man as ever girded on a sword or charged through the white smoke of battle. Davis embodied and represented with constant and patient heroism, to the day of his death, the right of self-gov-

ernment which Washington won, for which Lee fought and for which Albert Sidney Johnston and Stonewall Jackson died. Citizen, soldier, statesman, President, thou hast passed into history. When these thick fogs of time, looking through which prejudiced eyes still view thee, shall vanish before the just and righteous verdict of history thy name and the cause for which thy comrades fought and died will shine out as one of the greatest bulwarks against the whirlwinds of anarchy and prove to be the greatest power to save this glorious republic, which now looms up on the horizon, to the admiration of all the earth, from the polar frosts of a centralized, Prussianized military despotism. The Confederate armies are disbanded and we are in our father's house to remain; but the cause for which Davis stood was never more alive than now. Nearly every decision of the Supreme Court of the United States from 1865 to 1921 has sustained the contentions of the South. Every great battle since has been for freedom and self-government.

President Wilson often told the people why we went into the World War. Only a few days ago President Harding at Brooklyn, New York, said: "These heroes were sacrificed in the supreme conflict of all human history. They saw democracy challenged and defended it. They saw civilization threatened and rescued it. They saw America affronted and resented it. They saw our national rights imperilled and stamped these rights with a new sanctity and a new security. They gave all that men and women can give. We shall give our most and best if we make certain that they did not die in vain."

May 28, 1921, at a meeting of Yale University Alumni at Washington, D. C., among the distinguished speakers was President Arthur T. Hadley, who said: "It is essential that college students should understand the thoughts and feelings of their fellow citizens as a body; not those of their own group or class but those of the many different groups that make up the Nation. It is true," said Dr. Hadley, "that the

United States has not developed such fierce, international antagonisms as Germany did, but we have within our borders possibilities of conflict which are just as fundamental and which may prove just as serious. We have class antagonisms, whose most helpless feature is that they are based on class misunderstandings. City and country are often as far apart in feeling as though they represented separate nations. Organized capital and organized labor pursue their several ends without any real knowledge on the part of the leaders of either group of what the rank and file of the other are thinking."

Southern Sympathy Broad. Declaring Southerners show a sympathy which is not only broad but instinctive, the speaker asserted that "The country looks to the South to see that it does not get Prussianized." And what is Prussianism? It is the creature of class victory in a class conflict. And what does it mean? The supremacy of the few over the many; autocratic dictation and the negation of local self government and individual liberty. Our percentage of native-born white people is higher than that of the North and the West. Dr. Hadley knows that true and loyal Americanism can be looked for with greater certainty in a section where American blood is thickest. In a land that gave birth to Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Madison, Marshall, Davis, Lincoln, Lee, Jackson, Albert Sidney Johnston and Joseph E. Johnston, Monroe, Graham, Vance, Ben Hill and Chief Justice White will always be a land where Prussianism will be at a minimum.

It took England over two hundred years to quit spitting on the name and grave of Oliver Cromwell. As I went through London I saw a magnificent statue of him near the place where his disinterred skull was once posted to be hissed at by the passing throng. The day is coming, yea, now is, when the North with her tens of thousands of un-Americanized population, will be calling on the South to save our civil and religious institutions from Prussianism and Bolshevism.

What is the place of Davis in history? Ben Hill said: "He was the most honest, the truest, gentlest, bravest, tenderest, manliest man I ever saw." Prescott, the historian, who knew the history of Benton, Webster, Clay and Calhoun, was asked how Davis compared with these great Senators. He replied: "Davis was the most accomplished." Ridpath and other great historians knew Davis intimately. Ridpath said: "He was a statesman with clean hands and a pure heart, who served his people faithfully from budding manhood to hoary age, without thought of self, with unbending integrity, to the best of his ability. All who knew him personally were proud that he was their countryman."

Others won more laurels on the field of Mars. Rushed to the helm of the Confederate ship of state in a tornado, he proved to be the greatest combination of heart and brain which ever commanded 600,000 men and held out for four years against 2,800,000. Every year the tenderest hand will cull the sweetest flowers, weave them into garlands and deck the gateway through which Davis and his heroes marched to glory. The name of Davis will shine as a star of the first magnitude until the muse of history writes "Finis" with a pen of fire.

THE TERM "PICKETT'S CHARGE" IS A MISNOMER

BY CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK

No phrase is more absolutely without foundation in fact than the term "Pickett's Charge." There were in that historic charge 48 regiments and 2 battalions. Of these, General Pickett commanded 15 regiments in the 3 brigades in the right center, composing his division, and no more. There were 11 brigades, and he commanded only 3. The command of the charge was given to General Longstreet, and the official Reports show that he was in sole and actual command of it.

In the right wing of the charge there were 23 regiments, *i. e.*, 4 from Alabama in Wilcox's brigade, and 4 from Florida in Perry's brigade—these 2 brigades being commanded by General Wilcox. To his left, being thus the right center of the charge, was Pickett's division of 3 brigades commanded by Armistead, Garnett, and Kemper. The left of that division was given the line of direction, which was the "clump of trees" on Cemetery Ridge.

In the left wing there were 25 regiments and 2 battalions, *i. e.* 5 North Carolina regiments (4 in Pettigrew's brigade and one in Davis') ; Davis' Mississippi brigade of 3 Mississippi regiments and one North Carolina regiment; Archer's Tennessee brigade, containing one Alabama regiment and one Alabama battalion, and 3 Tennessee regiments; and Brockenborough's 3 Virginia regiments and one battalion—all these under Pettigrew, commanding Heth's division, General Heth having been wounded. In the second line of that wing (also practically under Pettigrew) there were the 10 North Carolina regiments of Scales' and Lane's brigades under Trimble, making a total of 48 regiments and 2 battalions in the whole line. Pickett's division, in the right center, also marched in two lines—two of his brigades in the front line and one in the second line.

Pickett had no command, as the official reports show, of any of these troops, except the 15 Virginia regiments in his own division.

General Pickett and his staff stopped at the Codori house, 600 yards from the wall, and did not cross the Emmetsburg Pike. The charge from Seminary Ridge, where it started, to the wall on Cemetery Ridge, in front of Pickett, was 1,400 yards. To the wall in front of the left wing, where the North Carolinians went, was 1,480 yards. It is true, General Pettigrew was wounded near the wall, still in command of his division, and that two of Pickett's brigadier generals were killed and the other was wounded, all near the wall, but in stopping at the Codori house, 600 yards behind his line, General Pickett was in rear of the center of his division and in regulation distance.

The fact that he stopped at the Codori house, in rear of his division, has no significance, except that it shows, if any additional proof were needed, that he was in command only of his own division. General Longstreet, who was in command of the entire charge, was in the rear of the center of the charge, and only advanced a short distance with the men, as it was necessary for him to have supervision and oversight of the movements of the entire charge.

Maj. W. M. Robbins, who was for years one of the United States Battlefield Commissioners at Gettysburg, wrote an article, "Longstreet's Assault at Gettysburg," which is printed in Vol. 5, Clark's Regimental Histories, pp. 101-112, in which he states that it was "Longstreet's Assault" and that Pickett commanded only the 3 brigades of his own division, and, further, that the correspondents of the press at Richmond were responsible for the slander upon the North Carolinians, Tennesseeans, Alabamians, Mississippians, and Brockenborough's Virginians, who composed the left wing. Indeed, Brockenborough's Virginians were on the extreme left, and being fired into on their flank by the 8th Ohio Regiment, was the first brigade on the left to give way. On the right, Wilcox's division, having gone

astray, Stannard's Vermont brigade, especially the 13th and 16th Vermont, fired into the right flank of Kemper's command and broke the force of their charge.

All soldiers know that in that charge all the troops did well, and there is glory enough to go around. All that the North Carolinians, Tennesseans, Alabamians, Mississippians, and Brockenborough's Virginians have sought to do is not to question in any particular the conduct of the 15 regiments under Pickett's command, but to refute the slander by certain correspondents of the Richmond press at that time, that the 25 regiments and 2 battalions on the left wing did not do their duty.

The following is taken from the returns of the Army of Northern Virginia of our losses at Gettysburg, printed in "44 U. S. Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," pp. 338-346:

Pickett's division: Fifteen Virginia regiments; killed, 214; wounded, 940; prisoners, 1,499.

Heth's division, commanded by Pettigrew: The five North Carolina regiments in the first line lost 229 killed, 1,074 wounded, no prisoners. Adding the two North Carolina brigades of Lane and Scales, the 15 North Carolina regiments which were in the charge lost in the battle of Gettysburg 372 killed, 1,745 wounded, and 110 prisoners, which was a much heavier loss than the 15 Virginia regiments in Pickett's division.

There were also in the left wing Brockenborough's 3 regiments and one battalion from Virginia, which lost 25 killed, 123 wounded, and 148 prisoners. Archer's 3 Tennessee regiments and one regiment and one battalion from Alabama lost 16 killed, 144 wounded, and 717 prisoners; and Davis' 3 Mississippi regiments (excluding 55th N. C. Regiment in that brigade, already mentioned) lost 141 killed and 548 wounded.

In the whole battle there were 770 North Carolinians killed—nearly twice as many as the 399 from Virginia who were killed.

At Gettysburg, at the reunion of 1913, the captain of a Federal battery and the colonel of a Federal regiment, who had

been posted during the battle at the wall which the North Carolinians reached, told a crowd of North Carolinians and others (while standing on the very spot) that Pettigrew's men, including the brave Mississippians and others, reached that wall, and pointed out where Satterfield, of Person County, fell, and stated that other dead and wounded were left at the foot of the wall—this was 80 yards further than the wall over which General Armistead and Judge (then Captain) Davis, of North Carolina, and some of their men passed. It is not that the North Carolinians were any braver, but it was due to the configuration of the wall, and merely shows that both sides were doing their duty, and that all went as far as they could. It was at the foot of the other wall, in front of Pickett, and 80 yards nearer to the Confederate lines, that Armistead crossed and where his 1,499 Virginians were captured. Enfiladed on the left by the 8th Ohio (which broke Brockenborough's Virginia brigade, and then the others in succession), and on the right by Stannard's Vermont regiments, and the guns from Little Round Top, with the double ranks of infantry at the wall, and the artillery, in their immediate front, these troops could not have lived across the 1,400 yards going back. Brockenborough's brigade, to their left, giving away to the flank fire, lost fewer prisoners, but their dead and wounded were more numerous than among Pickett's men.

No official report by any officer in the charge shows a single intimation that Pickett exercised any command in the charge, except of his own 3 brigades, although many of these reports mention receiving commands from Longstreet or their own division commanders. Fifteen to twenty regiments is a full command for a major-general, which Pickett was. 48 regiments and 2 battalions, especially when taken from two different corps, as these were, was the command of a lieutenant-general, and the charge was, therefore, committed to Longstreet, and both General Lee and General Longstreet state.

As to the motives of the newspaper correspondents, they were not stated by them, and we would get nowhere now by discussing

them. The motive imputed at the time was that they were willing to slander the brave men from five States in the left wing to save Pickett from failing to get promotion. No one has charged that Pickett was accessory to this. He was given another chance around New Bern that winter, and failed, and was never promoted.

The charge made in the Richmond papers, as near as it can be recalled now, was as follows: "Pickett and his magnificent Virginians would have won, but the men on the left were of meaner clay, and by their failure to go forward prevented his success."

Whatever the motive of the statement, it was an untruth, for the brave men from five great States in the left wing suffered very much heavier loss in killed and wounded, and lost fewer prisoners in proportion to numbers, than Pickett's division. The men on the left promptly resented the imputation, and they are to be honored and not abused for proving its falsehood.

The true cause of failure was stated at the moment by Nature's nobleman, General Lee, who knew more than any one else about the matter, and who said, magnanimously and truly, "I am to blame." All forty-eight regiments and the two battalions showed their usual gallantry, but General Lee, knowing the heights to which his men could rise, and underestimating the number of the enemy, and overestimating the extent to which the enemy's morale had been destroyed by our artillery, attempted the impossible. He was also misled by the fact that the enemy's artillery to a very large extent had ceased firing. Gen. H. J. Hunt, the Federal commander of artillery, says in his report that this was done by his orders, purposely to mislead General Lee to make the charge earlier; and General Longstreet and General Pendleton both say in their articles that we had to cease firing because our ammunition was nearly exhausted, and that we charged before the enemy's morale was sufficiently shaken.

It was General Lee's fault, as he said, but soldiers have never blamed him, because the situation at the time seemed entirely different to him from what it actually was. As Napoleon, who understood war, said, "The general has made war but a short time who has made no mistakes." In truth, the commander of an army plays the game just like a gambler, for he can only guess what is in his opponent's hand.

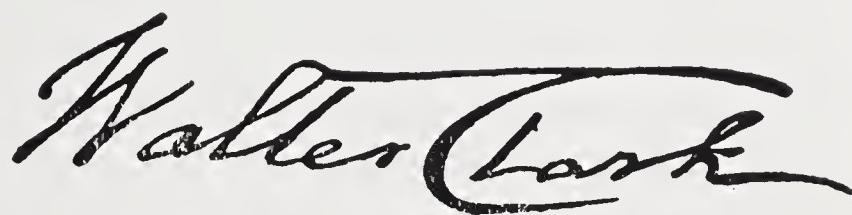
It has been stated by Colonel Mosby, of Virginia, and it is public knowledge, that General Pickett was summarily dismissed from the army by General Lee at the battle of Five Forks, 1 April, 1865, but that was not on account of a lack of personal courage, but on account of his unfortunate personal habits and his absence from the post of duty at a critical moment. As already said, there has never been any imputation as to his soldiery bearing at Gettysburg, and the mention of his stopping at the Codori house was merely to show that he exercised no command except only over his own division.

Gen. G. Moxley Sorrell, who was General Longstreet's adjutant-general and aided him in supervising the charge, in his Memoirs, says, on p. 171: "The attack was made under the direction of Gen. James Longstreet, with Pickett's division of three brigades (right) and Heth's division of Hill's corps (left), with the support of several brigades of other divisions thrown into position." This exactly corresponds with the statements by Longstreet and Lee and the official reports of the battle; and on p. 173 he says: "While Longstreet by no means approved the movement, his soldierly eye watched every feature of it. He neglected nothing that could help it, and his anxiety for Pickett and the men was very apparent. Fearing some flank attack if we succeeded, he had sent Latrobe to the left to warn that officer against its possibility. I went off sharply in search of Pickett to watch the right, and, if necessary, move some troops in for meeting such an attempt. I did not meet with General Pickett, but was soon up with Garnett and Armistead."

From the above statements, which correspond with the official reports, Longstreet was in command of the charge; Pickett had a division on the right, and Heth's division (Pettigrew) was on the left, and Longstreet, watching the whole situation sent an officer to the left wing and Sorrell to Pickett's division. General Sorrell says that he did not meet with Pickett, but that he did catch up with Garnett and Armistead, who were unquestionably at the front, for both were killed there. The statement that Pickett was as far to the front as the Codori house came from his friends and is undoubtedly true. No one whom I have seen or read of claims that he went beyond it. General Sorrell's statement that he could not find him, though he readily enough found his brigadiers, did not warrant an inference that he was out of his place, though Sorrell, as adjutant-general of his corps, certainly knew where he ought to have found him.

Colonel Mosby, in his article in *Munsey's Magazine*, April, 1911 states that after the war he went with Pickett to call on General Lee, who received him very coldly, and when he left, Pickett was abusive of his old commander, which he (Mosby) attributed to Lee having cashiered him at Five Forks.

The army records and the register at West Point show that, though General Pickett was appointed a cadet from Illinois, he was born in Richmond, Va., 25 January, 1825. He was appointed cadet in 1842 and graduated in 1846.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Walter C. Cork". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a horizontal line above and below the main text.

RALEIGH, N. C.

RICHARD HENDERSON: THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE CUMBERLAND COMPACT AND THE FOUNDING OF NASHVILLE*

(Reprinted from the Tennessee Historical Magazine, September, 1916) †

I.

In the middle years of the eighteenth century the first constructive movement in the Southern Appalachian region, looking toward extensive colonization beyond the mountains, was initiated by great land companies having their headquarters in North Carolina and Virginia. In 1750 that same Dr. Thomas Walker who had won repute as an explorer upon a former journey when he gave the name of Cumberland to mountain, gap and river, was despatched upon a tour of exploration to the westward in behalf of the Loyal Land Company of Virginia; and in 1751, Christopher Gist, whose name is associated in our memory with that of George Washington, was summoned from his remote home on the Yadkin, near the dwelling place of Daniel Boone, to spy out the western lands beyond the mountains in the interest of the Ohio Land Company.¹

Although no historian advertises to the subject, there can be little doubt that Daniel Boone was given the initial spur to his distant wanderings through the stories of the fertile lands upon the western waters brought back by his neighbor, Christopher Gist, who lived above him upon the Yadkin. As early as 1760, and no doubt much earlier, Daniel Boone, gun in hand, was scouring the wilderness of Tennessee, and penetrating as far to the westward as the Long Island of the Holston River. At Salisbury, the county seat of Rowan, he became known

*An address by Archibald Henderson, delivered in Watkins Hall, Nashville Tuesday, April 27, before the Joint Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association with the Tennessee Historical Society.

The reader is referred to the original publication of this article for the illustrations.

¹J. S. Johnson, "Early Exploration of Kentucky," *Filson Club Publications*, No. 13, 1898.

to the young attorney, Richard Henderson, who often practiced in the court where Daniel Boone's father, Squire Boone, presided as one of the "worshipful justices." To Henderson, richly endowed with imaginative vision, Daniel Boone, the scout and hunter, narrated bizarre and romantic tales of the rich lands, fertile pastures and boundless hunting grounds beyond the towering, olive mountains. The King's Proclamation of 1763, which was indubitably made to allay for the time being the alarm of the Indians along the border, was by no means designed to set permanent western limits to the colonies. This proclamation gave Henderson the first practical suggestion to utilize the knowledge and the genius of Boone in exploration in behalf of capital and enterprise. Realizing that the western lands must eventually be thrown open to colonization, Richard Henderson, soon after the issuance of the Royal Proclamation, organized a land company for the primary purpose of engaging an expert scout and surveyor to spy out the western lands and with the ultimate object in view of effecting a purchase from the Indians. The original company which consisted of three partners, Richard Henderson, Thomas Hart, and John Williams, was given the name of "Richard Henderson and Company." Boone was engaged for the undertaking, not only because of his natural genius as an explorer, but also on account of his innate taciturnity and his faculty of keeping his own counsel. Henderson was wise enough to give Boone discretionary powers in regard to prosecuting his inquiries; and in one noteworthy instance, the circumspect Boone deemed it the part of wisdom to communicate the purposes of his mission to some hunters, to enable him to secure the results of their information in regard to the best lands they had encountered in the course of their hunting expeditions. In the autumn of 1764, during the journey of the Blevins party of hunters to their hunting ground on the Rock Castle River, near Crab Orchard in Kentucky, Daniel Boone came among the hunters, at one of their Tennessee station camps, in order, as expressed in the quaint

phraseology of the day, "to be informed of the geography and locography of these woods, saying that he was employed to explore them by Richard Henderson and Company."² It was upon this journey that Samuel Callaway, his kinsman, accompanied Daniel Boone, who, as Ramsey says, "though he had previously hunted on the western waters, came again this year (1764) to explore the country, being employed for the purpose by Henderson and Company."³

Among the hunters who kept penetrating ever further to the westward, during each succeeding year beginning with 1760, was a trained woodsman and expert scout, Henry Scaggs, whom Boone encountered upon more than one occasion in his western wanderings. It was doubtless upon the recommendation of Boone, who recognized his great skill as hunter and scout, that Henry Scaggs was engaged as prospector by the land company known as Richard Henderson and Company. As early as 1763, Scaggs (sometimes incorrectly spelled Suggs or Scruggins) had already passed through Cumberland gap, and hunted for the season on the Cumberland; and in 1765, as the agent of Richard Henderson and Company, he made an extended exploration of the lower Cumberland, fixing his station at what was afterwards known as Mansker's Lick, from its supposed discovery by Gasper Mansker in 1771.⁴ Aware of the inadequacy of his knowledge of the western coun-

²John Haywood's *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, edn. 1823, p. 35. Judge Haywood was intimate from boyhood with the Henderson family, and was the schoolmate of Archibald Henderson, son of Richard, at Springer College in Granville County, the seat of the Henderson family. Judge Haywood's successor to the post of reading clerk to the North Carolina House of Commons, in 1789, was his friend, Major Pleasant Henderson, Richard's brother, and pioneer with Boone at Boonesborough and with Robertson at the French Lick. On his removal to Tennessee, Judge Haywood formed the acquaintance of many of the pioneers, from whom he received innumerable accounts of their personal experiences—notably James Robertson, John Sevier, and Timothe de Monbreun.

³Ramsay's *Annals of Tennessee*, Phila., 1853, p. 69.

⁴Haywood's *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, ed. 1823, p. 35; Ramsay's *Annals of Tennessee*, Phila.. 1853, pp. 69-70; Albright's *Early History of Middle Tennessee*, Nashville, 1909, pp. 23, 29-30.

try derived from the fragmentary reports brought back by Boone and Scaggs, Judge Henderson for a time took no step toward western colonization; but when the news of the Treaty of Fort Stanwix reached North Carolina in December, 1768, he realized that the western lands, though ostensibly thrown open for settlement under the aegis of Virginia on pretext of the purchase of the shadowy claim of the Six Nations to the Kentucky region, could only be legally obtained by extinguishing the Cherokee title. The arrival of John Findlay, the Pennsylvania trader, in the valley of the Yadkin late in 1768 was singularly opportune; for Boone himself had never penetrated further westward than the northeastern fringe of Kentucky, whereas Findlay had reached Kentucky as early as 1752, and knew the route thereto through Ouasioto Gap and along the course of the Great Warriors' Path. Seizing the golden opportunity thus presented, Judge Henderson secured the services of Boone and five others, including Findlay as guide, to make an exhaustive survey and examination of the Trans-Alleghany region of Kentucky and Tennessee on behalf of the land company. Following a two years' sojourn in this region, in which he ranged far and wide through Kentucky and as far down as the valleys of the Green and Cumberland rivers, hunting in joyous company with Gasper Mansker and the Long Hunters, Boone returned to North Carolina with graphic accounts of his explorations and of the nature of the country.

II.

If Daniel Boone was the first great instrument in furthering the speculative designs of the land company James Robertson was assuredly the second, though no whit less important than Boone. In 1772 the Watauga settlers secured from the Cherokee Indians, for a valuable consideration, a ten years' lease of the lands upon which they were settled; and Boone, who had established friendly relations with Robertson in 1771, communicated to Henderson the details of the leases and purchases from the Cherokees of the rich valley lands made by

Robertson, Brown and Sevier. After consultation with the Indians, Robertson informed Boone, Henderson's confidential agent, that he believed, if the inducement were large enough, the Indians were ready to sell. Following the disastrous failure of his own unauthorized and individual effort in 1773 to effect western colonization without even attempting to secure by purchase the Indian title, Boone in 1774 advised Henderson and his associates to attempt the purchase immediately, since the Cherokee, as reported by Robertson, were at last disposed to sell their claim to the Kentucky area.⁵ Acting upon legal advice solicited and received from the highest judicial authorities in England—an obscure subject of great importance into which I cannot enter at this time—Judge Henderson, accompanied by Colonel Nathaniel Hart, personally visited the Cherokee chieftains in their principal village and secured from them their consent to sell their title. Re-organizing the land company, originally known as Henderson and Company, first into the Louisa and then into the Transylvania Company, Judge Henderson, with the aid of Boone and Robertson, and some of his own associates, carried through the Great Treaty at Sycamore Shoals on March 14-17, 1775, purchased for 10,000 pounds sterling the Cherokee title to the Kentucky and Tennessee areas, and commissioned Daniel Boone and his axemen to cut out the passage to the heart of Kentucky, famous in history as the Wilderness Trail.

III.

Not the least erroneous statement in Mr. Roosevelt's *Winning of the West* is his singular assertion—which his own book in part denies—that after the confiscation of the Transylvania purchase by the Virginia legislature in 1778, Judge Richard Henderson “drifts out of history.” Surely there is excuse for

⁵The Harbinger, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1834, in which Major Pleasant Henderson, Judge Richard Henderson's brother, and Daniel Boone's friend and fellow-pioneer, relates that in 1774 Richard Henderson followed Daniel Boone's advice in attempting the purchase of the Kentucky area from the Cherokee.

such a statement in view of the strange yet not wholly inexplicable, fact that the Tennessee historians, Haywood and Ramsey, upon whom Mr. Roosevelt so strongly relied, completely ignore the very man who was the directing and controlling spirit in the exploration, colonization and government of the wilderness empire of the Cumberland. Writing Tennessee history from the local point of view, magnifying the dangers and the hardships of the hunter and the borderer almost exclusively, these historians committed the grave error of neglecting to place themselves at the source and of failing to study the colonization of Tennessee in the light of economic control. Having recently described the true role of Daniel Boone as the agent of commercial enterprise,⁶ I purpose now to narrate, in the light of a wealth of documentary material in my possession and inaccessible to Mr. Roosevelt and the Tennessee historians, the true story of the Transylvania Company in its relation to Tennessee and of the guiding and constructive role of its president in the founding of the great and flourishing city in which I now stand.

IV.

Following the stern fight for the rights of the Transylvania Company which Henderson and Burke made in the Virginia Legislature at Williamsburg in the late autumn of 1776—a hopeless battle in which they were worsted through the all-powerful influence of two great men, Patrick Henry and George Rogers Clark—Judge Henderson appeared before the Commissioners of the States of North Carolina and Virginia at the Treaty of the Long Island of the Holston on

⁶Cf. the following papers by me, dealing in some detail with this phase of the subject: "The Beginnings of American Expansion," *North Carolina Review*, September and October, 1910; "Richard Henderson: his Life and Times," *Charlotte Observer* (thirteen installments), March 9-June 1, 1913; "The Creative Forces in Westward Expansion," *American Historical Review*, October, 1914; "Richard Henderson and the Occupation of Kentucky, 1775," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, December, 1914.

⁷Haywood's *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, edn. 1823. Appendix, pp. 500-3.

July 18, 1777, and presented an elaborate memorial in behalf of the alleged rights of the Transylvania Company.⁷ Lacking the authority from their respective governments to inquire into the validity of private purchases from the Cherokee and fearing to jeopardize the delicate business for which they were assembled, the Commissioners unanimously voted to ignore the memorial of the Transylvania Company. In November of the next year, the Virginia House of Delegates declared the Transylvania purchase void; but in consideration of the very great expense incurred by Richard Henderson and Company in purchasing the said lands, "by which the Commonwealth is likely to receive great advantage, by increasing its inhabitants and establishing a barrier against the Indians," the General Assembly granted to Richard Henderson and Company two hundred thousand acres of land situated between the Ohio and Green Rivers, where the town of Henderson, Kentucky, now stands.⁸

With this bursting of the Transylvania bubble and the vanishing of the golden dreams of Henderson and his associates for establishing the fourteenth American Colony in the heart of the Trans-Alleghany region, all might well have seemed lost. But is Richard Henderson disheartened by this failure of his imperialistic dreams? Does he, as Mr. Roosevelt crassly affirms, "drift out of history?" No; the purest and greatest achievement of his meteoric career still lies before him. The genius of the colonizer and the ambition of the speculator, in striking conjunction, inspire him to attempt to repeat on North Carolina soil, along solidly practical lines, the revolutionary experiment which the extension of the sovereignty of the Old Dominion over the Kentucky area had doomed to inevitable failure. It was no longer his purpose, however, to attempt to found an independent colony separate from North Carolina and hostile to the American government,

⁸*Journal, Virginia House of Delegates*, November 4 and 17, 1778. Cf. also Hening's *Statutes at Large*, X, 571.

as in the case of Transylvania, which had been hostile to the royal government and founded in defiance thereof. Millions of acres within the chartered limits of North Carolina had been purchased by him and his associates from the Cherokee on March 17, 1775. One of the courses of the Great Grant, as it was called, read: "down the sd. (Cumberland) River, including all its waters to the Ohio River";⁹ and James Robertson in his deposition before the Virginia Commissioners, April 16, 1777, describing the Sycamore Shoals Treaty, categorically stated: "The Indians then agreed to sell the land as far as Cumberland River and said Henderson insisted to have Cumberland River and the waters of Cumberland River, which the Indians agreed to."¹⁰ To establish the fact that this vast territory lay within the bounds of North Carolina and not of Virginia was the first and most vital consideration of the Transylvania Company; for while Virginia had declared the title of the Transylvania Company void, North Carolina, under the American rule, had shown no disposition to nullify the claims of Henderson and his associates. In order to establish the fact that the great Cumberland region lay within the chartered limits of North Carolina, it was necessary to prolong the dividing line between North Carolina and Virginia, which had never been extended further to the westward than Steep Rock Creek. Henderson's unpublished correspondence reveals his conviction that the Cumberland region lay within the chartered limits of North Carolina; but James Robertson was under the impression that the Cumberland region, including the French Lick, would, when the dividing lines should be run, fall within the bounds of Virginia.¹¹

Judge Henderson's comprehensive design for the promotion of an extensive colonization of the Cumberland region now moves rapidly toward completion. It is simply a case of history repeating itself. Just as Henderson, in his Boones-

⁹Draper, MSS., 2CC42.

¹⁰Draper MSS., 1CC-194.

¹¹Putnam's *Middle Tennessee*, p. 67.

borough project, had chosen Daniel Boone, the ablest of the North Carolina pioneers, and his companions, to spy out the land and select sites for permanent future settlement, so now he chooses as the leader of the new colonizing party the ablest pioneer of the Watauga settlement, James Robertson. Large inducements to assemble and lead this party were indubitably offered by the Transylvania Company to James Robertson. Nothing less than such inducements would have influenced Robertson to abandon the comparatively peaceful Watauga settlements, where he was the acknowledged leader and the Indian agent in the employ of the State of North Carolina, and to venture his life in this desperate hazard of new fortunes.

With that untiring energy and sure efficiency so characteristic of the man, James Robertson now proceeds actively to recruit a party for the preliminary exploration, and to make all the needed arrangements for subsequent colonization on an extended scale. "The extensive purchase made by the Henderson Associates," says Putnam, the picturesque historian of Middle Tennessee, "and the further reports made by hunters and agents of the large land company as to the country beyond the mountains, and the very favorable terms upon which large tracts—a thousand acres—would probably be granted, were attracting unusual attention. The Hendersons, Hart, and other members of the company were now causing it to be extensively known that they were making preparations to emigrate, and take possession of the country. A considerable number of families agreed to move out in the fall. Some were to go by land with cattle, and what could thus be packed, others to descend the Tennessee to the Muscle Shoals, and being there met by their immediate friends, travel across to the Cumberland and into Kentucky; or if it should be deemed easiest and best, this party, with women and children, should continue all the distance by water."¹² In his

¹²*History of Middle Tennessee*, Nashville, 1869, p. 61.

letter to Gov. Richard Caswell, of North Carolina, written from Washington County on January 14, 1779, in regard to a proposed military expedition to be made by North Carolina against the Cherokees, James Robertson writes: "I am well informed that the first day of March near 200 men and many families amongst them, are to meet at the Long Island of Holston in order to go down the river, with a design to settle Cumberland river, a fork of the Ohio, which might be a convenient time for the Expedition; and posably (*sic*) under the cover of Women and Children they might pass unmolested; and I have told the Indians that people are going to settle that country the coming spring."¹³ Preparatory to this emigration, as pointed out by Putnam, "it was agreed that a number of men should go in the spring of the year and plant some corn upon the Cumberland, that bread might be prepared for the main body of emigrants upon their arrival in the fall. Robertson selected his men, or found suitable volunteers to go with them, experienced woodsmen and able-bodied men."¹⁴ On February 6, 1779, as stated by Moses Fisk in his historical sketch of Tennessee, James Robertson as leader, accompanied by George Freeland, William Neely, Edward Swanson, James Manly, Mark Robertson, Zachariah Wells, and William Overhall, and one negro man, "set out on this adventure to examine the purchase made by Richard Henderson and Company, at the treaty of 1775."¹⁵

V.

The immediately following phases in the story of the Cumberland settlement are familiar enough to all who are acquainted with early Tennessee history. Yet certain docu-

¹³*N. C. State Records*, xiv, 247.

¹⁴Putnam, *l. c.*, 63.

¹⁵The words quoted are from Putnam, *l. c.*, p. 64. In Fisk's sketch, entitled, "A Summary Notice of the First Settlements Made by White People within the Limits Which Bound the State of Tennessee," and published in the *Massachusetts Historical Collections*, Vol. 7, under date July 1, 1816, it is stated that Robertson, accompanied by "ten men, including a negro, started for the Holston settlement to explore and take possession of the country on the Cumberland."

ments which have recently come to my attention in archives in England, North Carolina and Virginia, give additional interest and piquancy to the situation. The significant facts are as follows: The Long Hunter, Gasper Mansker, of German extraction, in 1771 "discovered" the famous lick which bears his name; and influenced by Tom and Sam Bryan, with whom he re-visited the Cumberland country in 1775, he claimed this land by right of settlement under the State of Virginia.¹⁶ Furthermore, Col. Arthur Campbell, the Virginia borderer, had visited the Cumberland country in the early seventies—a fact unknown to the Tennessee historians—and had registered, under Col. Wm. Preston, surveyor of Fincastle Co., Va., his claim to "1,000 Acres at a place called Gasper's Lick, being on a creek that empties into Cumberland below the Barrens." Col. Campbell also located 1,000 acres of land for Col. Wm. Byrd, the third, who devised it to his son Charles in his will as follows: "I give to my son Charles, who never offended me, a thousand acres of land in the County of Fincastle, known by the name of the Salt Springs, and which was surveyed for me by Mr. Arthur Campbell, being part of the land I claim under his Majesty's Proclamation of 1763."¹⁷ Most important of all, George Rogers Clark, the Virginian,

¹⁶Unpublished letter from Col. Arthur Campbell to Gov. Richard Caswell of North Carolina. In this letter, dated Richmond, November 8, 1782, in speaking of his preemption of 1,000 acres "on the waters of Cumberland River," Campbell remarks: "There is a man in that country by the name of Mansker who now claims the land by right of settlement, but my location was made several years before he moved to that country, and I believe he would never have troubled me by interfering with my claim had he not been instigated by Tom and Sam Bryan, with whom he was intimate—." Cf. Albright's *Early History of Middle Tennessee*, 28-30.

¹⁷Cf. Arthur Campbell to Richard Caswell, Governor of N. C., November 8, 1782, Archives, N. C. Historical Commission. For will of Col. Wm. Byrd, 3d, which was dated July 6, 1774, and proved February 5, 1777, cf. *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. IX, pp. 80 *et seq.* After the Cumberland region was found to lie within the bounds of North Carolina, letters and memorials from Arthur Campbell and the widow of Col. Wm. Byrd were presented in 1782 to the North Carolina legislature for validation of these land titles. Neither application was successful. Mrs. Byrd's memorial was not brought up for final action in the North Carolina Legislature

had purchased three thousand acres of land at the French Lick in the year 1776; and referring to this purchase in a letter to Patrick Henry from Fort Patrick Henry, in the Illinois Country, March 9, 1779, he says: "I thank you for your remembrance of my situation respecting lands in the Frontiers. I learn that Government has reserved on the lands on the Cumberland for the Soldiers. If I should be deprived of a certain tract of land on that River which I purchased three years ago, and have been at a considerable expense to improve, I shall in a manner lose my all. It is known by the name of the great french Lick on the South or West side containing three thousand Acres. If you can do anything for me in saving it, I shall for ever remember it with gratitude."¹⁸

From these, and other pre-emptions doubtless known to him, James Robertson suspected that the French Lick lay within the bounds of Virginia. In particular, the fact of Clark's purchase of the three thousand acres, including the

until four years later; there was some delay caused by the failure to attach a copy of Col. Byrd's will to Mrs. Byrd's memorial. In their report, dated December 31, 1786, in reply to the petition of Rev. Robert Andrews, to whose charge Mrs. Byrd's interests were committed, the committee, consisting of General Rutherford, General Gregory, Mr. Relfs and Mr. Lewis, state in specific terms:

"That it appears to your committee by the papers and documents before them that the late Honorable William Byrd was entitled for his military services to five thousand acres of land under the Proclamation of his Britannic Majesty in Council of 1763. That in consequence one thousand acres thereof are located, as appears by a Certificate of the late Colo. William Preston, Surveyor of Finecastle County in Virginia, at the great Salt Lick on Cumberland River now called Nashville.

"Your Committee considering the nature and extent of the sd. proclamation, and it being fully ascertained to them by the extension of the boundary line between this and the State of Virginia, that the aforesaid entry was made on lands within the proprietary part of the Carolina's (*sic*) and consequently not within the gift of the Crown, are of opinion that the claim of the late Honorable William Byrd to the said lands is inadmissible." Archives of the N. C. Historical Commission. Cf. *State Records of N. C.*, xviii, 33, 190.

¹⁸B. M., Add. MSS., 21, 782, f. 199. This letter is printed in "George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781," Vol. viii. *Illinois Historical Collections*, Vol. III, Virginia Series, edited by J. A. James, 1912, pp. 304-5. In a letter to William Mayo, Virginia, 1. c., pp. 380-1, copied from Draper MSS., 50J1, George Rogers Clark, writing from Louisville, Kentucky, January 8, 1780, says: ". . . but in order to have

French Lick, a purchase doubtless effected through the instrumentality of Col. Arthur Campbell, was well known at Watauga and along the border. Although the inducements held out to him by the Transylvania Company were greater than those held out by the State of North Carolina, Robertson resolved to remain on the safe side by attempting to secure from George Rogers Clark as owner, holding the title under the Virginia claim, "cabin rights" to the pre-emptions on the Cumberland at the French Lick.¹⁹ Certain it is that, shortly after planting corn on the present site of Nashville, and taking other necessary steps attendant upon the establishment of an infant settlement, Robertson made a long trip through the wilderness to Post St. Vincent, visited General Clark at Fort Patrick Henry, and "had an understanding with him, to be carried into execution upon subsequent application."²⁰ The nature of this understanding is easily surmised, namely that the settlers on Clark's lands on the Cumberland would, at some future time, pay him the purchase money for the "cabin rights" to their pre-emptions, should the French Lick, on the extension of the North Carolina-Virginia line prove to fall within the chartered boundaries of Virginia.

VI.

As early as 1777, following the Treaty at the Long Island of Holston in July of that year, it became manifest to the commissioners of the State of North Carolina and Virginia that, owing to the progress of emigration westward and the growing aggravation of uncertainties as to land titles, it

done with it I have purchased that quantity (10,000 acres) of Improvement on Cumberland and Inclose a memorandum (*sic*) the Best Land in that Countre as they war first Chose."

¹⁹"Robertson had agreed to go to the Illinois and purchase 'cabin rights' of General George Rogers Clark, from whom some of the emigrants recently from Virginia gave assurance that such land-claims could be procured for very small sums." Putnam's *History of Middle Tennessee*, pp. 64-5, 67. The present research thus first accurately accounts for Robertson's long and arduous journey to the Illinois country.

²⁰Putnam, *l. c.*, p. 65.

would be eminently desirable to extend still further westward the boundary line between North Carolina and Virginia. In the latter part of 1778, acts providing for the extension and marking of the boundary line were passed by both North Carolina and Virginia; and among the Commissioners appointed from North Carolina were Judge Richard Henderson, Col. John Williams, and Capt. William Bailey Smith, all of whom had played active parts in the founding of the Colony of Transylvania. The Commissioners from each State agreed to meet in the latter part of the summer of 1779 at the western end of the line formerly run, and thence to prolong the line westward. Meantime the colonization of the Cumberland, instigated by Judge Henderson as President of the Transylvania Company, and to be engineered by James Robertson, had been delayed; and the party of settlers had failed to start from the Long Island on March 1st as prophesied by Robertson. Col. Nathaniel Hart, one of the proprietors of the Transylvania Company, living at Boonesborough, Kentucky, actively fostered the plans for the expedition by water of Col. John Donelson, and supplied him with some corn for the journey. "In connection with the early history of Kentucky," records his son, Col. Nathaniel Hart, Jr., "it may not be amiss to state that Cumberland (now Middle Tennessee) was also mainly settled under the auspices of Henderson and Co."²¹ Judge Henderson left his home in Granville County, North Carolina, on August 18, 1779, and together with John Williams and William Bailey Smith, joined the Virginia Commissioners at a waste cabin on Steep Rock Creek on September 1.²²

²¹N. Hart, Jr., to Wilkins Tannhill, in *Louisville News-Letter*, May 23, 1840.

²²In connection with the running of the dividing line, the following passage from a letter of Col. Richard Henderson's now in my possession, postmarked Holston, September 12, 1779, is of more than ordinary interest:

"The Virginia Commissioners, to wit Doctor Walker and Major Daniel Smith (of Clinch) who from some inaccurate observations before we came had given out in speeches that the Long Island would

In the course of the running of the line, so graphically described in the *Journal of Daniel Smith*,²³ there developed a lack of agreement between the commissioners of North Carolina and those of Virginia with reference to the observations upon which the running of the line must depend; and upon reaching Cumberland Mountain, on November 18, the Carolina Commissioners abandoned the further running of the line. Judge Henderson, accompanied by his brothers, Pleasant, Nathaniel and Samuel, and a few others, went on in order to observe the Virginia Commissioners continue their line to the Tennessee River; and reached Boonesborough on Christmas Day, 1779.²⁴ On this same date, the swarm of colonists from the parent hive at Watauga, which had gone overland under Robertson's guidance, passed their first day at the French Lick, and on January 1, 1780, crossed the river on the ice to the present site of Nashville.²⁵

It is most significant that the document, known as the Cumberland Compact, explicitly testifies—although the fact has been ignored by historians—that the French Lick was founded under the auspices of the Transylvania Company and the patronage of Judge Henderson, and gives the date of the founding as January 1, 1780. The rate of valuation at which payment for the Cumberland lands was to be made, in case the title of the Transylvania Company should be con-

be miles in Virga. and thereby had blown up the inhabitants with hopes of great extension of territory, are brought to bed.—Indeed the people here in General look as if they had lately miscarried, and hourly are making applications for Land from our Company &c.—Men who, two years ago, were clamorous against Richard Henderson and Company, and Damning their title, are now with pale faces, haunting our Camp and begging our friendship with regard to their Land."

²³*Tennessee Historical Magazine*, March, 1915.

²⁴In Fleming's Journal we read, under date of December 25, 1779: "Sam. Henderson arrived with some of the Commissioners from Carolina having quitted running the line on some disagreement with the Virginia Commisrs. who continued to go on with the line.—Dec. 26. Clear and moderate. Mr. Henderson took the Lat. and made this place $37^{\circ} 48'$." In Durrett Collection, University of Chicago Library.

²⁵Putnam's *History of Middle Tennessee*, p. 66.

firmed, was fixed, viz.: "According to the value of money on the first day of January last, being the time when the price was made public (and) settlement encouraged thereon by said Henderson."²⁶

VII.

Meanwhile the fate of this colony which he had promoted, and upon whose efforts the subsequent fate of the Transylvania Company depended, was weighing heavily upon the mind of Judge Henderson. The terrible hardships of this bitter winter, ever afterwards known as the "hard winter," which he had endured in the course of his difficult and dangerous journey to Boonesborough, brought to his mind the thought of equal or greater hardships which Robertson and his party must likewise have borne in their arduous journey overland to the French Lick. But his concern was, if anything, greater for the party of men, with many women and children, also destined for the French Lick, who under the leadership of Col. John Donelson had set sail from Fort Patrick Henry, on Holston River, in the good boat Adventure on December 22, 1779. With paternalistic care and a lively sense of responsibility for the welfare of these two parties which he had himself induced to make the great venture, Judge Henderson proceeds to purchase, in Kentucky, at huge cost a large stock of corn for the colony at French Lick. In a letter of John Floyd's, dated Harrodsburg, 20th Feb., 1780, is found the following statement: "I have no bread yet, but expect a small supply from my friend Col. Henderson at Boonesborough, who has greatly befriended me by sparing that which he may want himself, and only waits for high water to send it down with his own

²⁶Cf. the facsimile accompanying this article, on which these words appear. Putnam records: "Col. Henderson was a sound lawyer, a man of thorough education, an accomplished gentleman, an honorable and patriotic man, and sought and took no advantage of the confidence placed in him. Sales were made, but payment conditioned on a confirmation. Purchasers here were never urged to make any payments on contracts into which they had entered. Old settlers ever entertained for Henderson a very high regard as a gentleman and patriot." *Middle Tennessee*, 88-9.

on the way to the mouth of Green River, where he is about to form a settlement.”²⁷ The corn for the Cumberland settlement, hundreds of bushels, purchased by Judge Henderson at Boonesborough, was on March 5, 1789, “sent from Boonesborough in perogues under the command of the late Major William Bailey Smith of Ohio County, Kentucky. This corn was to be taken down the Kentucky River, and over the falls of the Ohio, to the mouth of the Cumberland, and thence up that river to the fort at French Lick. It is believed to have been the only bread which the settlers had until it was raised there in 1781; for although corn was planted there in 1780, yet the place was so annoyed by the Cherokees, that the settlers were not permitted to cultivate it.”²⁸ There is a note of deep impressiveness in this heroic triumphing over the obstacles of obdurate nature and this thoughtful provision for the exposed Cumberland settlement projected and promoted by the Transylvania Company—the purchase by Judge Henderson and the shipment by Col. Hart, in that awful winter of bitter cold and obstructed navigation, of this indispensable

²⁷Draper MSS. 33 S 317. “Green river,” which flows into the Mississippi not a great distance from the mouth of the Cumberland river, is an obvious error in the above statement. It should read “Cumberland river.” The settlement, as we know, was not to be made at the mouth of the Cumberland.

²⁸This statement is made by Col. Nathaniel Hart, Jr., son of Col. Nathaniel Hart, one of the partners of the Transylvania Company. Col. Hart continues: “This corn had been raised by my father at Boonesborough, in 1779; and I have now before me an account against Col. Donaldson (Donelson) for nine bushels, which he says ought to rate high at the French Lick, as it had been worth \$200 per bushel at Boonesborough.” Nathaniel Hart, Jr., to Wilkins Tannehill, Spring Hill, April 27, 1839, in *Louisville News-Letter*, May 23, 1840. Clearly Donelson derived the information as to the price of the corn from Col. Richard Henderson, the purchaser, at their meeting on March 31. In Butler’s *History of Kentucky* (1834 ed.), note, p. 99, the following abstract from Col. John Floyd’s correspondence states: “The price of corn fluctuated from fifty dollars per bushel in December, 1779, to one hundred and sixty-five dollars per bushel, in January, 1780. These prices were at a period of obstructed navigation, and in depreciated paper; but its value in gold and silver is not known.” It is clear that by February, 1780, the price had risen still higher, to the almost incredible price of \$200.00 per bushel.

quantity of corn valued at sixty thousand dollars in depreciated paper.

While Major William Bailey Smith, with his precious cargo of corn was making the long journey by water to the French Lick, Judge Henderson, accompanied by his brothers, Pleasant and Nathaniel, and by Col. Nathaniel Hart, started overland to join Robertson and Donelson, and to draw up a form of government for the infant settlement on the Cumberland.²⁹

The most memorable entries in Donelson's famous journal are the references to Henderson and Robertson—projector and leader, respectively, of the Cumberland settlement. Although James Robertson failed to meet Donelson's party at the Muscle Shoals or to leave signs there for their guidance, they were met further up the river, on Friday, March 31, by the watchful and anxious Henderson. The entry in Donelson's journal, demonstrating the wise forethought of the promoter of the settlement, reads as follows: "Set out this day, and after running some distance, met with Col. Richard Henderson, who was running the line between Virginia and North Carolina. At this meeting we were much rejoiced. He gave us every information we wished, and further informed us that he had purchased a quantity of corn in Kentucky, to be

²⁹This party must have started about the middle of March; for on March 10 Judge Henderson was still at Boonesborough. In a letter describing conditions in Kentucky, written from Boonesborough, March 10, 1780, one reads: "A Boat of Colo. Henderson's is setting off tomorrow or next day for the falls (Louisville) by which we shall send an address to Colo. Clark to superintend this matter and obtain his answer as soon as possible. Mr. Henderson's boat will be at Leestown on Tuesday next and will be convenient for you to send by." A. L. S. in Draper MSS., 50 J 18, printed in *George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781*, pp. 396-8. This letter contains the following endorsement:

"March 10, 1780.

"At a full meeting of the inhabitants of Boonesb'gh Collected on the melancholy Occasion of the foregoing Letter it was unanimously agreed that the sd. Letter should be Written which was accordingly Done, and Capt. David Gess Direct'd to subscribe his name Thereto for and in Behalf of the Whole. Certified under my hand this 10th of March, 1780.

Richd. Henderson."

shipped at the Falls of Ohio, for the use of the Cumberland settlement. We are now without bread, and are compelled to hunt the buffalo to preserve life."³⁰

Judge Henderson, his two brothers, and Col. Hart arrived at Col. Daniel Smith's camp, at Amos Eaton's on Friday, April 7, and left that place shortly after April 10³¹ for the French Lick, doubtless arriving there in advance of Donelson and his party. Silently eloquent of the granite endurance and courageous spirit of the typical American pioneer—thankfulness for sanctuary, for reunion of families and friends, for the humble shelter of a log cabin—is the last entry in Donelson's Diary, of date Monday, April 24, 1780:

"This day we arrived at our journey's end at the Big Salt Lick, where we have the pleasure of finding Capt. Robertson and his company. It is a source of satisfaction to us to be enabled to restore to him and others their families and friends, who were entrusted to our care, and who, some time since, perhaps, despaired of our meeting again. Though our prospects at present are dreary, we have found a few log cabins which have been built on a cedar bluff above the Lick by Capt. Robertson and his company."

³⁰Putnam: *Middle Tennessee*, p. 75. In a statement made by Mrs. Donelson, she relates: "When they met Col. Rd. Henderson, Gen. Dl. Smith & Capt. Nathl. Hart, on Cumberland, all were rejoiced, particularly Colo. Donelson, who was highly delighted—learned of Capt. Robertson's safe arrival at the Salt Lick (now Nashville)—that corn had been purchased in Kentucky." The information that Capt. Robertson and party had arrived safely at the Salt Lick prior to March 14, was furnished by General Daniel Smith, who was there on that date. Through inadvertence, he makes no reference in his journal to the presence of Robertson and his party at the French Lick. In reference to Mrs. Donelson's statement (Draper MSS., 32S304-305), Draper observes that Mrs. Donelson thinks the corn never came. This is an error. The corn was brought safely in to the French Lick; and Major William Bailey Smith, who was in command of the boats which bore the corn, reached the French Lick in time to sign the Cumberland Compact. Doubtless Mrs. Donaldson was thinking of Isaac Bowman's batteau from Kaskaskia, which fell into the hands of the Chickasaw Indians.

³¹Cf. Daniel Smith's "Journal," *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, March, 1915, p. 63, which contains the following: "April 7th. Friday Horses not all found—Received a letter from the Governor to go to the Falls of Ohio on particular business. Col. Henderson brought this letter."

VIII.

The lapse of time now forbids me to pursue further this story of the strenuous struggles and incredible hardships of the Cumberland settlers, who established here a permanent bulwark against the copper-hued savage and laid here forever the foundations of what is now the great and populous city of Nashville. I will content myself with presenting to you one fundamental historical truth as the culmination of this research. This is the question in regard to the authorship of the famous Cumberland Compact. The cocksure Mr. Roosevelt, with his habitual dogmatism, concludes, without proof or evidence, that the author of that remarkable document was James Robertson.³² The inherent truth of the situation, if other evidence were not finally conclusive, demonstrates this to be impossible. The best informed writer on this subject, Putnam, who in 1846 discovered the original document now jealously preserved in the archives of the Tennessee Historical Society, says: "As Richard Henderson and the other members of the 'Transylvania Land Company' were here at this juncture (April, 1780), he (Henderson) was foremost in urging some form of government."³³ A brief inspection will demonstrate its character. First of all, the Cumberland Compact is a mutual contract between the co-partners of the Transylvania Company and the settlers upon the lands claimed by the company. It is, moreover, a bill of rights, through careful provisions safeguarding the rights of each party to the contract. The significant feature of the document is that it is an elaborate legal paper which could have been drafted only by one intimately versed in the intricacies of the law and its terminology. Nothing, indeed, could more effectually exhibit the purpose for which the Association was established and the Compact drawn up than the following clause in the instrument itself:

³²A study of the original document would have repaid Mr. Roosevelt and have saved him from error.

³³Putnam: *Middle Tennessee*, p. 84.

"That as no consideration-money for the lands on Cumberland River, within the claim of the said Richard Henderson and Company, and which is the subject of this Association, is demanded or expected by the said Company, until a satisfactory and indisputable title can be made, so we think it reasonable and just that the twenty-six pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence, current money, per hundred acres, the price proposed by the said Richard Henderson, shall be paid according to the value of money on the first day of January last, being the time when the price was made public (and) settlement encouraged thereon by said Henderson, and the said Richard Henderson on his part does hereby agree that in case of the rise or appreciation of money from that—an abatement shall be made in the sum according to its raised or appreciated value."³⁴

The indisputable facts that Richard Henderson, eminent as lawyer and jurist, was the only lawyer on the Cumberland in May, 1780, and that his name heads the list of two hundred and thirty-odd signatures to the document known as the Cumberland Compact, has led one of the justices of your own Supreme Court, a deep student of early Tennessee history, the Hon. Samuel C. Williams, to state in print that "without serious doubt" Judge Henderson was the draftsman of the compact of government.

Familiarity with original letters of the sturdy Robertson—with both his chirography and his mental processes—and also with the chirography and contents of the Compact conclusively dispels the notion that Robertson may have been the author and draftsman of the compact. I am now, and have been for some years, able to alter the "without serious doubt" of Judge Williams into "without any doubt whatsoever," by the categorical statement that the document of May 1, and also the document of May 13, 1780, are written throughout in the same handwriting; and this handwriting is the bold and

³⁴Compare plate I.

characteristic chirography of the man who purchased the territory, projected and personally co-operated in the settlement, sedulously nurtured it with the fruits of the earth purchased at fabulous cost, and led in urging the adoption of a written form of government at the French Lick—the President of the Transylvania Company, Judge Richard Henderson, of North Carolina.

It may be the time is not far distant when in this great city of Nashville, patriotically signalized by its monuments and memorials to James Robertson, sagacious and paternal leader, and to John Donelson, intrepid and successful pioneer, there shall be erected some adequate memorial to the pioneering genius and empire-building imagination of the man who inaugurated and engineered the hazardous and arduous enterprise of a settlement at the French Lick, drafted the Cumberland Compact, and is rightfully entitled to divide with James Robertson and John Donelson the honors in the founding of Nashville.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Fordell, University of North Carolina.

APPENDIX

In connection with the question of the authorship of the Cumberland Compact, I append an affidavit made by the two Tennessee historical scholars who have made the most minute and critical study of the original document, preserved in the archives of the Tennessee Historical Society. My thanks are now gratefully expressed to these gentlemen, Mr. John H. DeWitt, president of the Tennessee Historical Society, and the Rev. W. A. Provine, D.D., for their minute comparison of the documents; to Mr. J. S. Walker of Nashville, for valuable assistance and suggestions; and to Professor St. George L. Sioussat for courtesies extended. I am indebted also to the late Gen. Gates P. Thruston, sometime president of the Tennessee Historical Society, for courtesies extended me several years ago in connection with the present research.

All historical scholars without exception, who have compared the original manuscript of the Cumberland Compact or facsimile thereof with attested specimens of Judge Richard Henderson's handwriting, testify that the original Cumberland Compact is drafted throughout in Judge Henderson's handwriting. It is perhaps worthy of note that in the body of the document Judge Henderson employs a formal or conventional capital R, of a sort which he did not habitually use in making his own signature. The six (6) signatures which I have traced from the original documents or from facsimiles, photographic

or photostatic, shown on a plate (III) accompanying this article, exhibit variations in the making of the capital H as well as in the making of the capital R.

The interested student may compare the facsimiles of documents which accompany this article—the one being a page of the Cumberland Compact (Plate I), the other being a letter from Judge Henderson to Capt. Holder (Plate II).

In the paper above printed, with accompanying documents, it is now established that Judge Henderson drafted the original Cumberland Compact. It is not unreasonable to suppose, although there is no proof of it, that certain clauses in the document were drawn by Judge Henderson with the assistance of Captain James Robertson. Indeed, the laws, as drafted, represented the collective will of this pioneer community; and it may be that both Robertson and Donelson, voicing this collective will, thus aided Judge Henderson to draft a series of articles for the government of their association.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

AFFIDAVIT

STATE OF TENNESSEE,
COUNTY OF DAVIDSON.

We, W. A. Provine and John H. DeWitt, make oath that on April 28, 1916, with Dr. Archibald Henderson, of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, we carefully examined the original Cumberland Compact (in the custody of the Tennessee Historical Society), and compared the same with certain photographic facsimiles of certain pages of writing furnished us as the genuine handwriting of Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina, who was president of the Transylvania Company, to-wit, a page of the diary of Richard Henderson written in 1775, the original of which is in the Draper MSS. at Madison, Wisconsin; a photostatic copy of his memorial to the Legislature of North Carolina in 1784, the original of which is in the archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Raleigh, North Carolina; and a pencil tracing of his signature as judge of the Superior Court of North Carolina, the original of which is in the court house at Salisbury, N. C. (The information as to the nature and location of these papers being furnished us by Dr. Archibald Henderson.) While our attention was not given to the subject-matter of these writings, nevertheless, we made a very careful comparison of the handwriting with the handwriting of the text of the Cumberland Compact and the name of Richard Henderson as the first signer thereto; and we are both convinced without reservation that the handwriting of the Cumberland Compact and all of the aforesaid documents is one and the same. We especially noted that the signature of Judge Richard Henderson as traced from the Salisbury court house records and as appended to the Cumberland Compact are identical.

We are convinced from these comparisons that Judge Richard Henderson was the draftsman and author of the original Cumberland Compact.

(Signed) W. A. PROVINE,
JOHN H. DEWITT.

Sworn to and subscribed before me on this the 30th day of May, 1916.

JOHN H. LECHLEITER,
Notary Public.

(Seal)

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF MRS. M. A. BURWELL*

BY A DISTINGUISHED LADY OF NORTH CAROLINA

In beginning the publication of a magazine by the young ladies of Peace Institute, it is eminently appropriate that the first number should contain a brief sketch of the life and work of the late Mrs. M. A. Burwell, the honored wife and mother of its Principals, and their valuable co-adjutor for so many years in the management of a boarding-school, of which Peace Institute, with its extensive proportions, fine advantages, and beneficent influences, is but the outgrowth and development.

Every generation produces a type of character in men and women peculiar to itself—not entirely, it may be, the result of *heredity*, but in some degree moulded by its environments; and standing out distinctly from the many, certain characters arise of such striking individuality as to mark them as *representative*. Distinguished among this class of persons, and who belong to a generation now rapidly passing away—perhaps not *more* worthy, but still *differently* worthy from the present—is the name of Mrs. Burwell, the wife of the venerable Robt. Burwell, D. D. Her maiden name was Anna Robertson. She saw the light first in Richmond, Va., on October 3d, 1810, and was the daughter of Wm. Robertson, a Scotch merchant. Her mother, Anne Spotswood, was a great-granddaughter of Alexander Spotswood, the Colonial Governor of Virginia, whose enterprise and sagacity were such that, had his suggestions been adopted, they would have been of inestimable value to the British interests in America at a time when France was endeavoring to wrest from her the trade and riches of the New World. Early in his administration, Governor Spotswood, leading a

*This sketch appeared in the first issue of "Voices of Peace," in 1889, and of course no copies are now obtainable. It published at the suggestion of a member of the Advisory Board of *The Booklet*.

—The Editor.

troop of horse, effected a passage over the Blue Ridge (which had hitherto been considered an impenetrable barrier to the ambition of the whites), and discovered the beautiful valley that lies beyond. In commemoration of this exploit, he received the honor of Knighthood from the King, and was presented with a miniature golden horse-shoe inscribed, "*Sic juvat transcendere montes.*"

Mrs. Burwell was a worthy daughter of such ancestors, and in her girlhood showed striking characteristics that foretold the "coming woman." In 1831 she was married. A few years subsequently, Mr. Burwell received a call to the Presbyterian Church in Hillsboro, N. C., and they removed there in 1835. No minister was ever more fortunate in the selection of a wife, for she proved a veritable helpmeet.

To fine natural endowments and unusual business qualifications, she added intelligence and culture. Having been carefully and piously reared, her literary tastes were sanctified and ennobled, and mind and heart found their highest enjoyment in the study of God's word.

They were blessed with "the heritage of the Lord"—a large family—and twelve children (all of whom lived to be grown) were "like olive plants around their table."

To one of Mrs. Burwell's broad expanse of mind and indomitable energy, the duties devolving upon her as mother and pastor's wife still left time for her to teach. In 1838, she opened a boarding and day-school for young ladies. The lack of railroad facilities at that time, and the small size of the town, precluded the idea of a school of such proportions as its founder was so well fitted for, and to which she was afterwards destined; but the thorough system of instruction, the home-like aspect, and admirable management, gave it a reputation extending far beyond those who had personally enjoyed its advantages.

It was not surprising, therefore, when the building of the Charlotte Female Institute was completed, and its trustees were

seeking for it a Principal who would at once place it upon a high plane in all respects, that their first choice fell upon Mr. and Mrs. Burwell. They were induced to take charge of it at its opening in 1857. The present handsome building was just completed. The spacious grounds, rescued from the adjacent field and forest, afforded ample, though somewhat discouraging, scope for Mrs. Burwell's energy and taste. Under her transforming hand it soon "blossomed as the rose," and in course of time became a veritable mount of beauty. The green lawn was as smooth as velvet. Rustic bowers and trailing vines lent their charm, and the summer air was redolent with the breath of roses. Within, order and neatness reigned supreme.

In this wider sphere of usefulness the remainder of her life was spent, and they were, perhaps, the most eventful of her useful life. The first great sorrow that entered the new home was that occasioned by the death of their daughter, Mrs. Fred. N. Strudwick, at her home in Alabama, an accomplished, thoughtful young woman. A peculiarly tender tie existed between the mother and this eldest daughter, who shared each other's confidences and companionship in a relation somewhat like sisters. The grief at her loss was rendered more poignant, from the fact that the parents had not the solace of being with her to soothe the last hours with their tender ministries.

Once only before, during their residence in Hillsboro, had death invaded their family. In 1856 their daughter Fannie, having completed the school course with her parents, was sent North to perfect herself in music and art with a view to becoming a teacher in the school at home. Near the close of her year of study tidings came of failing health, then of serious illness that summoned her mother to her bedside. The longing for home was gratified, and they started on the return South. On board the steamer between New York and Norfolk, as the dawn appeared on sky and sea she entered through the portals into the fuller light of an eternal day. In both these great sorrows Mrs. Burwell, with Christian resignation, drank the

bitter cup, and seemed most anxious to learn the lesson intended for her profit by these sad dispensations.

Then came the thrilling four years of the war, with all their painful and varied experiences. In addition to her large houseful of boarding-pupils, Mrs. Burwell extended her limits to their utmost capacity to receive refugees, who sought safety from an invading army. Her sympathetic nature welcomed the strangers, and many still recall with gratitude the peaceful haven they found in her home.

Of Mr. and Mrs. Burwell's eight sons, five (all who were old enough) went into the active service of the army. Of these, James, a fair boy still in his teens, gave his life-blood on one of the battle-fields of Virginia. Robert, a brother a few years older, was brought home suffering from a wound that proved mortal.

Through all this protracted and painful discipline of sorrow, the mother chastened and subdued, bowed unmurmuringly to the afflicting rod, and illustrated, "How sublime a thing it is to suffer and be strong."

When peace returned, it brought new responsibilities, and life was active and full of work. But when time had, in a measure, "soothed the tears it could not dry," and she began to smile again, to be happy in the children still spared to her, suddenly without warning, came the call from on High—the Great Shepherd touched the pet lamb of the flock, Jennie, the youngest, and after the marriage of Mrs. Crow the only remaining daughter. She was just sixteen; a beautiful girl, the picture of health, with eyes whose liquid depths revealed the guileless soul within. Disease seemed not to have touched her fair form as she lay peaceful and beautiful in the last repose; but "she was not, because God took her." What a pall rested over all the inmates of the house! The entire town was, in a degree, participants in that overwhelming sorrow. The sun shone in full autumn splendor, but now the sunshine seemed dimmed when there was no answerable light from within. Flowers,

the choicest and purest, were heaped upon her casket, while without they bloomed in gorgeous October coloring—but *the fairest flower lay low.*

This last crushing blow was too much for one of even Mrs. Burwell's nerve and strong, brave nature. She never recovered her wonted cheerfulness; a pensive air of sadness settled on her face, and there was a plaintive tone in her voice that excited the interest and sympathy of her friends, and, under the influence of sanctified suffering, she visibly ripened into meetness for Heaven.

But, through all, she was unremitting in duty; in her constant watchfulness over the young ladies entrusted to her training. Her classes were never committed to another teacher when it was possible for her to attend to them. One of her frequent quotations was, “The time is short”—a text itself full of significance, doubly so uttered in her solemn, impressive tone.

When one's expressions live in the mind and on the lip, and being oft repeated verbatim become adages, it is a mark of greatness. Grant this, and Mrs. Burwell certainly possessed that element in a remarkable degree. Many of her aphorisms have become household words in the families of her pupils and those who knew her well.

As a teacher, she was *facile princeps*; not only enthusiastic, faithful and strict, but she was full of suggestion. She had the rare faculty of teaching her pupils *to think*, and made the distinction clearly between *to educate* and *to instruct*. English was her *forte*, and she seemed to revel in it, from Grammar (which, in her hands, was relieved of its dull monotony) through the range of symptoms, Trench on Words, and the English classics. “Paradise Lost,” which was read and studied, all the classical allusions being sought out, was to her and her “Seniors” a pastime and a delight. Sometimes all books were laid aside, and a *lecture* superceded the recitation, not always “on the text,” but always apposite, replete with instruction,

which many of her girls still recall with pleasure and profit.
“Being dead, she yet speaketh.”

A faithful and diligent student of the Bible herself, she was unfailing in her requirements of its daily reading by her pupils, a portion of the morning and evening study hours being devoted to that study. Sunday afternoons were occupied with Bible classes, one of which she always taught herself. The first recitation of the entire school on Monday mornings, was also a Bible lesson. There seemed always to be a special bond of confidence and intimacy between her and her Bible class, and some of the fruits of the seed then sown, in faithfulness and prayer, may be revealed only in the light and among the surprises of the other world.

She was exact and particular in details. “Faithful in the least, faithful also in that which is great.” The most faultless neatness and exquisite taste pervaded every part of her house. An admirable model for young ladies to carry into their homes, and to become a habit of their lives. A lofty soul that impressed itself on mind and heart, and that gave impetus to noble endeavor in many of those to whom she took the part of mother. One of the highest tributes to her fidelity and success has been the wish expressed by many of her former pupils, and also by their husbands, that she who guided their own steps, and laid her moulding hand on their plastic characters, should, in time, perform the same office for their daughters.

The influence of such a wife and mother survives time, and must be commensurate with eternity. One daughter and six sons survived her, and “rose up to call her blessed.” Of the latter Edmund S. Burwell, a successful business man of Charlotte, and withal, a trusted member and officer of the First Presbyterian Church, died in March, 1887, lamented by all who knew him.

In physique, Mrs. Burwell was of heroic size and majestic presence. “She walked a queen.” The forcible spirit, as of one “born to command,” was impressed on her noble, fine features,

and the strong points were mellowed by a faultless complexion, and clusters of silvery curls, that lay on her still fair temples. Over all these beamed the light of intelligence, and a sweet, sympathetic flow, whose subtle influence was beyond the skill of the finest artist—consequently, no picture of her can do her justice. Her dress, always black and perfect in fit, was usually made with a surplice front, over which white lace lay in soft folds, leaving bare a rounded throat, and gave the daintiness as of a freshly made toilet. Her sympathies were broad and quick. “A heart at leisure from itself to soothe and sympathize.” There was no household in her large circle of friends whose festive occasions were not graced by her presence, or in whose scenes of sorrow her tears did not mingle.

When the building of Peace Institute was resumed, after the long interruption caused by the war, and its directors began seriously to think of a Principal suited to so important a station, they at once decided on the Messrs. and Mrs. Burwell. During her visits in Raleigh to her daughter, Mrs. Crow, the subject was canvassed, and doubtless the tenor of it was such as to lead her to earnest thought on the subject. She did not, however, survive its completion. While in Raleigh for the benefit of her health, which had been perceptibly declining for some months, she grew rapidly worse, and quietly passed away on June 21, 1871. It was just after the close of the term in the Charlotte Institute. Her remains were taken to her home for interment, and every possible mark of respect was shown her memory—all the business houses of the town being closed during the hours of her funeral, while a great concourse of mourners and sympathizers followed her to her last resting place. She was laid beside her two boy martyrs in peaceful Elmwood, and the stars keep watch over the sleepers, till the Sun of Righteousness shall bid them arise and “be satisfied when they awake in His likeness.”

As the germ contains the stately oak, with its protecting arms and wealth of shade, so the select school of Hillsboro, developed

into the more important school of Charlotte, has expanded into the present Peace Institute, the sainted Mrs. Burwell may justly be regarded as the *Mother of Peace*.

As has been beautifully said of another, "Upon her honored memory rest the love and reverence of kindred and friends; the benedictions of society; the blessing of the church, and—the *smile of God*.

A PICTURE OF THE LAST DAYS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR IN NORTH CAROLINA

Edited by R. B. HOUSE, the North Carolina Historical Commission.
From the Dickson Letters in the collections of the North Carolina
Historical Commission.

(William Dickson, the writer of the letter from which the following extract is taken, was a planter at Goshen in Duplin County. He was a delegate to the Halifax Convention in 1776. He also served during the Revolution in the Duplin County militia. Near him in Duplin County were his four brothers, Joseph, James, Robert, and Alexander,—all staunch Whigs. All of these men lost property and suffered danger in the cause of the Revolution. Robert Dickson, to whom the letter was written was a Presbyterian minister in Ireland, who was contemplating moving to North Carolina, and who, therefore, wanted to know the state of affairs. Ed.)

WILLIAM DICKSON TO ROBERT DICKSON

Duplin County, N. C., Nov. 30th, 1784.

Dear Cousin Robert,

In both your Letters which I received you requested I would give you some account of the Present Circumstances and Situation of our Families Since the War; the Present State of our Civil Government; Religious Matters and how Ministers were Supported in this Country; the Prices of Plantations; and whether any New Settlements were about to be made on the Western Waters over the Appalachian Mountains, &c.

Dear Cousin, in answer to these requests I wrote you a very long letter about a Month ago which was a few days after the Arrival of my cousin, Joseph; that Letter I sent at random by a Person going to Virginia—where I was informed there was a Vessel would Sail in about 3 weeks for Belfast. That letter is a very long one but written in such haste that it will appear a Scrawl, the person who carried it waiting with im-

patience while I wrote I had not the opportunity to revise or Correct it. However if it ever comes to hand I make no Doubt but you'll be able to Digest its Contents. In it you'll find I have attempted to give you some Account of our Civil Government and Mode of Legislation, & also of the Different Sects of Religious People most Prevalent among us in the lower Counties of this State and that the Presbyterian Settlements are chiefly in the uper Counties of the State, where are many large and able Congregations and some of them are frequently vacant. I also gave you my opinion that a Good Sound Preacher of a Good Moral Character scarcely ever wanted Good encouragement. I also wrote concerning the Prices of Lands and Plantations in this part of the Country. I also in that letter began a Historical Account of the War as far as concerned us and our Families in the Vicinity of Carolina, which I have Traced from the commencement of the War down to the Battle of Guilford in North Carolina, which happened in the Spring of the Year 1781, from which Lord Cornwallis Retreated to Wilmington to recruit and repair his damages &c. before he could proceed to Virginia. And General Greene marched his Army to South Carolina to dispute The dominion of that State with Lord Rawdon who then commanded the Garrison at Camden. There I concluded my last Letter in which you'l find none of our families concerned except my Oldest Brother Michael who had his share both of good and Ill fortune. I can give no Account of his present Situation; the last account I had of him he was about moving his family to Georgia.

Having thus brought the War to our Doors I shall now give you some account of its operations here and how much it affected us and our Families.

About the 25th January 1781 Major Craig arrived in Cape Fear River, and Landed at Wilmington with about 450 Veteran Troops, with which he Garrisoned the Town and Detached a Party up the North East River to the Great Bridge about

12 miles above the Town, and there Demolished the Bridge, Seized and Burned some Public Store Ships & their Contents which had been run up the River for Safety and also Destroyed some Private Property and returned back to the Town and Major Craig immediately fortified the Garrison. The Militia of the three Counties were immediately Ordered down to Take Post at the Great Bridge and that Pass was fortified by us in order to prevent the Enemy from Making excursions into the Country, we had been there about 3 weeks with about 700 Militia, when Major Craig Marched out upon us in the Night with his main force and some Field Pieces, Surprised and dispersed our Piquet Guard and Displayed his artillery across the River upon our Dirt works but without any Effect. The Enemy finding their attempt intirely fruitless after Staying * * * across the River two days Returned in the Night time to Wilmington.

About 2 weeks after this we received Intelligence from Guilford County in the uper part of the State that a General Engagement had ensued between Lord Cornwallis and General Greene. There the conflict was long and Obstinate and the Victory had been in favor of the Americans had it not been for the misconduct of the North Carolina Militia who broke and left one part of the line exposed which the Enemy Seeing and being about to make use of the advantage, Genl. Greene Ordered a Retreat and brought off the whole without any confusion. The Enemy remained upon the Ground, Genl. Greene finding his troops still in high spirits and not so much diminished as might be expected made all the Necessary Preparations to attack the Enemy the Next day, but was Disappointed by Cornwallis's Precipitate Decamping in the Night. He carried off some of his wounded and left about 200 of his wounded at the Place of Action with an Officer and Two Surgeons whom he recommended to the Compassion, and Humanity of the American General. Cornwallis made good his retreat to Wilmington and General Green after Pursuing him two days with-

out any prospect of coming up with him Turned his course and Marched into South Carolina—where I shall leave him for the Present.

Cornwallis's arrival at Wilmington and Greene's being gone to South Carolina Seemed to Strike a Terror on our Militia then at their Post. General Lillington, who then commanded the Post at the Great Bridge, Ordered our Retreat from that to Kingston on Neuse River about 50 Miles above Newbern, where on the 28th of April he Discharged all the Militia except one Company to Guard the Artillery Stores. The Militia thus Discharged, we had not the Name of an Army in North Carolina—every man was now to look to himself. The Next day after being Discharged we returned home. Cornwallis's Army was then in the Middle of our County, Encamped at my Brother Robert Dickson's Plantation, the whole Country was Struck with Terror, almost every man Quit his habitation and Fled leaving his family and property to the Mercy of Merciless Enemies. Horses, Cattle, & Sheep and every kind of Stock were driven from every Plantation; Corn and Forage taken for the Supply of the Army and no compensation Given; Houses Plundered and Robbed; Chests &c, broken oopen; Womens and Childrens clothes &c., as well as Mens Wearing Apparel, and every kind of Household Furniture taken away.

These outrages were mostly committed by a Train of Loyal Refugees as they Termed themselves whose Business was to follow the Camps and, under the Protection of the Army, to enrich themselves on the Plunder they took from the Distressed Inhabitants who were not able to defend it. We were also Distressed by another Swarm of beings (not better than Harpies). These were Women who followed the Army in the Character of Officers' and Soldiers' Wives, they were Generally considered by the Inhabitants to be more Insolent than the soldiers, they were Generally mounted on the best Horses and Side Saddles and Drest in the finest and best clothes that could be Taken from the Inhabitants as the Army Marched through the Country.

Our family were all obnoxious to the Enemy, although none of the Brothers except myself had actually taken arms and Joined the Army. I will now Give you some Account how we all fared, while the Enemy were in our Neighborhood. My Brother Robert had left his place & removed his family and Property. The Enemy encamped one Day and Night at his Plantation and Destroyed some of his Stock which he had not Got off the same day my Brother Joseph was Surprised in his own house by the Dragoons, but being Determined he would not Surrender, fled into a Thicket or Swamp and although Pursued, made Good his Escape; the Enemy Plundered his House, took all his Corn, his Horses, & his Wife's Clothes and Side Saddle, &c.

The same day another Party went to my Brother James's House and not finding him at home Plundered his House of everything they could find in it, took off two of his Slaves, and all his Corn, &c, and compelled his Wife and a Neighbour Woman who was there to deliver them the Rings off their fingers and the Buckles out of their Shoes.

The same day my Sister's Husband, Wm. M. Gowen, was found Driving some Stock out of their way, he was made a Prisoner, and after being some Time under Guard, was compelled to Pilot their light Horse to his own & several of his Neighbours' houses, where they took all the Corn & forrage, all the Horses &c, they could Get. The Night following they Detained him under Guard and went and Plundered his House of every thing in it worth Carrying away, broke every lock, Ransacked every Chest & Trunk, took away all the Beding, &c.—all the Apparrel, even the Baby Clothes. They Stripped the Rings off my Sisters fingers and the Shoes and Buckles off her feet, Choked the Children in order to make them confess if their Father had not hid his money and to tell where it was &c.; and many of the Neighbours were treated in the same Brutal manner.

The day following the Army encamped near my House; Sundry Parties of their light Horse called on my House and,

notwithstanding I was not at home, they went away Peaceably and took nothing from me which I thought very strange, for Sundry of my Neighbours were Plundered of almost every thing they had.

The Enemy, being Destined to Virginia, made but a very short stay in our Neighbourhood, but imediately after they were gone came on our Greatest Troubles—for the Loyalists, or, as we Term them, the Tories, began to assemble and hold Councils in every part of the State, and, thinking the Country already conquered because the Enemy had gone through us without being checked, they were Audacious enough to apprehend and take Several of our Principal leading Men Prisoners and carry them down to Wilmington and deliver them to the Guards. There were Numbers of our Good Citizens thus betrayed who Perished on Board of Prison Ships and this so alarmed the Inhabitants that none of us dared to Sleep in our houses or beds at Night for fear of being Surprised by these Blood Seekers and carried off to certain Destruction. In the meantime the Governor of the State & Several others of the first character were surprised in this manner by some who had been personally acquainted with him and carried and delivered to the Guards at Wilmington. Notwithstanding the Attempts of Sundry Parties of the Militia who Attempted to Rescue him, Matters being thus in Confusion, there was no subordination amongst men but every Popular or leading Man raised and commanded his own little Party and Defended themselves, as they could,—at length we Got collected about 400 men Together under Col. Kenan in Duplin and about 200 under Col Brown in Bladen, an Adjacent County. Col. Kenan's Militia had not made a Stand more than Ten days when Major Craig marched his main force with field pieces, Defeated and Drove us out of our works, and made some of our Men Prisoners (here I narrowly escaped being taken) (or Cut down by the Dragoons). The Enemy Stayed Several days in Duplin County (this being the first week in August

1781); the loyalists gathered in very fast. We were now reduced again to the utmost extremity; the Enemy were now more cruel to the Distressed Inhabitants than Cornwallis's Army had been before. Some men collected and formed a little flying Camp and moved near the Enemy's lines and made frequent Sallies on their Rear and flanks, while others fled from their homes and kept out of the Enemy's reach. Major Craig marched from Duplin to Newbern, Plundered the Town, Destroyed the Public Stores, and then immediately marched back to Wilmington to Secure the Garrison.

The Loyalists or Tories in Duplin and other Counties, now thinking the day entirely their own, became more Insolent than ever, but Craig being again Returned to Wilmington the Whigs again resumed their courage and Determin'd to be revenged on the loyalists, our Neighbours, or hazard all. Accordingly we collected about 80 light Horsemen and Equipped them as well as we could; they marched Straight into the Neighborhood where the Tories were Embodied and Surprised them. They fled; our men pursued them, Cut many of them to pieces, took Several and put them instantly to Death. This action Struck such a Terror upon the Tories in our County that they never Attempted to Embody again; and many of them in a Short Time came in and Submitted and were pardoned. I was not in this action nor any afterwards; during this whole Season of the War I never received a Wound but one which was a Shot through my right leg, though I had three narrow Escapes when I was in Danger of being killed or Taken.

In Bladen County the Tories were more Numerous and more Insolent than in our County, one McNeil, a Scotchman, was made Colonel of the loyalists and was very Active against the Whigs; he was one of the Principal Commanders in Carrying off the Governor to Wilmington; but did not live to get there himself, for being Attacked by a Party of the Militia who attempted to rescue the Prisoners, Colonel McNeil and Several more of his Party were Slain, although the Governor nor none of the Prisoners were Retaken.

Immediately after this a Commission was Sent to your friend and Countryman Maturine C (Colvill?) to take command of the Loyalists in Bladen County, which he accepted of. Some of the leading Men of the Whig Party in that County and Mr. (Colvill), having formerly been obnoxious to Each other, occasioned by some disputes between themselves and Dreading his Courage and Intripidity and the Impetuosity of his Temper which some of them very well knew would be fatal to some as soon as he headed his Troops, it was so contrived that he was Soon taken off by a Party who Slew him in his own House the morning of the same day in which he was to have headed his Loyal Troops.

He was Succeeded in the Command by Colonel John Slingsby who headed the Troops and Embodied about 400 at Bladen Court House. Colonel Brown with about 150 of the Whigs Surprised him in the Night, Slew Colonel Slingsby and Two of his Captains and some of his Men, and retreated without any loss and returned in the Morning, where he found only the Slain and some of the wounded, the rest having fled and made their Escape. This put an end to the Disturbance in Bladen County; the Tories never Embodied there any more; so by this time our Two Distressed Counties of Duplin and Bladen began to get the uper hand of their Enemies. Colonel Slingsby was Succeeded in the command of the Loyalists in Bladen by your Countryman Faithful Graham, but before he had the opportunity of doing His Majesty any Service he would have suffered the fate of his Predecessors had he not made his Escape through a Swamp and Got into Wilmington.

About this time, being about the middle of October, General Rutherford and Genl. Butler with 1500 Militia from the back counties of the State came down to our assistance. These Troops began by Distressing the Loyalists and Tories with a View thereby of drawing the Troops out of Wilmington to an Engagement. Immediately upon their coming down we received the agreeable and long expected News of Lord Corn-

wallis and the British Army captured at York in Virginia, upon which our Troops marched down immediately to lay siege to the Town. The same day that our Troops encamped in the Vicinage of Wilmington Major Craig Demolished the works of the fort, Spiked all the Guns, Destroyed all the Public Stores he could not carry off with him, Got his Troops on Board, and Sailed off for Charles Town; and our Troops were in possession of the Town the same Hour the Enemy went out. Thus ended the War in North Carolina, and General Greene's Successes in South Carolina during the Summers campaign had by this time Reduced that State to the Obedience of their own Legislature, every out Post was now Driven into the Principal Garrison at Charles Town, which was then the Only Post they held in any of the Southern States, where they remained till they were withdrawn from thence by the Articles of the Definitive Treaty.

Your Affectionate Cousin
W. DICKSON.

Duplin County
30th Novr. 1784.

GRAND MASTERS SPAIGHT, JERKINS AND CLARK

Address delivered at Sesqui-Centennial of St. John's No. 3, New Bern,
January 19, 1922, by MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD, (32°) Grand
Historian of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina.

MOST WORSHIPFUL GRAND MASTER AND BRETHREN, LADIES
AND GENTLEMEN: When the purpose of St. John's Lodge, No.
3, to celebrate its sesqui-centennial first became known, I formed
the purpose to be present on this inspiring occasion as an inter-
ested looker-on and listener. A little later I received a letter
from Past Master Bradham, chairman of the Committee on
Arrangements, inviting me to deliver an address on the lives
and Masonic careers of Richard Dobbs Spaight (the younger),
Alonzo T. Jerkins, and Charles C. Clark, all members of St.
John's Lodge, who were deemed worthy of the exalted post of
Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. As much
as I appreciated the honor of this invitation, I felt it my duty
to decline when I remembered that Past Grand Masters Jerkins
and Clark had lived until comparatively recent years, and that
there were doubtless among the New Bern Masons of our day
some personal friends and former Lodge associates who could
more fittingly portray their distinguished careers in Masonry
and in the affairs of life generally. I wrote Past Master Brad-
ham, thanking him and his committee for the proffered honor
and giving him the reason for my declining the invitation.
To this he replied, by return mail, telling me that he was de-
lighted to receive my letter accepting the invitation to be present
and speak on Grand Masters, Spaight, Jerkins, and Clark, and
that he looked forward with much pleasure to the opportunity
of hearing me. What was I, that I could withstand "nerve"
such as that? All that I could do was to reply, with becoming
meekness, that I was glad that I had decided to come. So I am
here; and, in the classic language of the present day, "you
should worry."

A study of the careers of the three Grand Masters, who form my subject today, convinces me that they were no ordinary men; and so I take pleasure in recalling from bygone years some incidents in their personal and Masonic careers—taking them up in the order of their terms of office. It is a goodly trio of which I shall speak: of Spaight, the wise statesman, who served as Governor of North Carolina and as representative of his district in the halls of Congress; of Jerkins, the sagacious man of business, enterprising citizen, and faithful banker; and of Clark, the able and studious attorney, eloquent advocate, and cultured gentleman.

RICHARD DOBBS SPAIGHT, JR.

Richard Dobbs Spaight, younger Governor of North Carolina bearing that name, and Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, was born in New Bern in the year 1796. Through lines both paternal and maternal he was sprung from historic ancestry. His father was the great Revolutionary statesman Richard Dobbs Spaight (the elder), Governor of North Carolina, member of the Continental Congress, and later of the Congress of the United States, whose earthly career was brought to a tragic end in a duel with the Honorable John Stanly, of New Bern, in 1802. The elder Governor Spaight's father was Richard Spaight, an Irishman of the landed gentry class, who married a sister of Arthur Dobbs, Royal Governor of North Carolina from 1754 until 1765. This earliest American ancestor of the Spaight family took a high stand in the province, being member of the Governor's Council and paymaster in the French and Indian War, besides filling other positions of honor and trust.

The younger Richard Dobbs Spaight, Governor and Grand Master, the subject of this sketch, was maternally a grandson of Colonel Joseph Leech, of New Bern, a noted patriot of the Revolution, who was the first Senior Warden of St. John's Lodge. An account of the Leech-Spaight connection will be

found in the case of Jones vs. Spaight, 6 North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, pages 89-91.

Mr. Spaight received his preparatory education at the New Bern Academy, and later entered the University of North Carolina. From the latter institution he graduated in 1815; and the record tells us that, on the occasion of his graduation, he delivered the "mathematical oration"—whatever that may happen to have been. Throughout life he took a deep interest in the welfare of his Alma Mater, and was a trustee for nearly thirty years, from 1821 until his death in 1850. When Governor of North Carolina, he was *ex officio* president of the board of trustees. Soon after graduating from the University, he studied law, was duly licensed, and successfully practiced that profession for some years. He soon entered the field of politics; and, in 1819, rendered his first public service as a member of the House of Commons from Craven County. He was next State Senator from the same county in 1820, 1821, and 1822.

In 1823, when the Federalists and Democrats were the two political parties which were contending for the control of the State and nation, Mr. Spaight alligned himself with the Democrats. That party having placed him in nomination for the United States House of Representatives, he was duly elected, taking his seat on the 1st day of December, 1823, and serving one term, till March 3, 1825. After his retirement from Congress he served eleven terms in the State Senate of North Carolina, beginning in 1825 and ending in 1835. Twice during his career in the State Senate he was candidate for Speaker of that body, but was defeated in both instances—in 1828 by a gentleman with a surname much resembling his own, the Honorable Jesse Speight; and, in 1830, by the Honorable David F. Caldwell.

Brother Spaight's interest in Masonry was deep and abiding. After a creditable career of service in St. John's Lodge, he was elected Junior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge, serving a term of one year from the 4th of December, 1822, until the

15th of December, 1823. The fact that he was not re-elected or advanced at the end of his term was probably due to his removal at that time to Washington City to take his seat as a member of Congress. A few years later he was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, serving two terms, from December 14, 1830, until December 7, 1831, and from December 7, 1831, until December 17, 1832. The other officers of the Grand Lodge during Grand Master Spaight's first term were Samuel F. Patterson, Deputy Grand Master; George Blair, Senior Grand Warden; Rufus Haywood, Junior Warden (John H. Wheeler was first elected, but not being a Past Master, could not be installed, and was succeeded by Dr. Haywood); Benjamin A. Barham, Grand Treasurer; John C. Stedman, Grand Secretary; John G. Marshall, Senior Grand Deacon; Charles D. Lehman, Junior Grand Deacon; John T. C. Wiatt, Grand Steward; Dirk Lindeman, Grand Steward; Richard W. Ashton, Grand Tyler; and five chaplains, the Reverend Brothers Joseph Caldwell, Patrick W. Dowd, Thomas P. Hunt, John Armstrong, and Josiah Horn. The officers of the Grand Lodge, besides the Grand Master, during Grand Master Spaight's second term were Samuel F. Patterson, Deputy Grand Master; Rufus Haywood, Senior Grand Warden; Daniel Coleman, Junior Grand Warden; Dirk Lindeman, Grand Treasurer; Charles D. Lehman, Grand Secretary; John G. Marshall, Senior Grand Deacon; W. J. Ramsey, Junior Grand Deacon; John T. C. Wiatt, Grand Steward; William A. Harrison, Grand Steward; William Montgomery, Grand Marshal; Daniel Sherwood, Grand Sword Bearer; Pinckney Caldwell, Grand Pursuivant; the five Grand Chaplains already mentioned; and fourteen Grand Lecturers.

It was fortunate for our fraternity that gentlemen of the character and standing of Grand Master Spaight and his associates presided over the destinies of North Carolina Freemasonry at that time, for the Anti-Masonic mania which infected American politics for several years was then at the

height of its malignancy and misrepresentation. It will be remembered that in 1826 a worthless character by the name of William Morgan, of Batavia, New York, formerly a brewer by trade, had announced his intention to betray the secrets of Free-masonry. He disappeared shortly thereafter, and nothing more was ever known of his fate. But it was a splendid opportunity for the political off-scourings of the two existing parties, and they were not slow to take advantage of it. Vigilance committees and committees of safety without end were organized to save America from the blood-thirsty Masons; and, in 1827-'28, an Anti-Masonic party was formed. While the hysteria was in progress the body of a drowned man was found, whereupon it was triumphantly proclaimed that the murdered Morgan had at last been discovered. The body was three inches taller than Morgan and later turned out to be one Timothy Monro; but, for the time being, the corpse served a useful purpose. Concerning it, one Anti-Masonic agitator, Thurlow Weed, significantly remarked that it was "a good enough Morgan until after the election." In due time the election came, and Past Grand Master Andrew Jackson, of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, was elected President of the United States. About the same time, we may add, Deputy Grand Master John Owen, of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, was elected Governor of this State by the General Assembly—this being before Governors were elected by the people. While the misrepresentations of the Anti-Masons may have misled some honest men in North Carolina, it is a note-worthy fact that, during the entire progress of the agitation, from its outbreak in 1826 until it fizzled out about 1835, there never was a day when the Governor of North Carolina was not an open and avowed Mason. These Masonic Governors were Hutchins G. Burton, Grand Master; John Owen, Montfort Stokes, and David L. Swain, each Deputy Grand Master at some period of his life-time; and Richard Dobbs Spaight, Past Grand Master. Being built upon prejudice, and having no political principles, the Anti-Masonic party disap-

peared a little before 1835, when its leaders were content to become inconspicuous followers of the more reputable parties then in existence. As late as 1882, we may add, the aged Thurlow Weed was still harping on the same string; and, in that year, published a "confession" made to him by a person who claimed to have been one of the Masonic abductors of Morgan.

It being apparent to the wiser public men of North Carolina, and to the more intelligent class of citizens generally, that the organic law of the State, embodied in the Constitution adopted at Halifax in 1776, should be re-drafted or materially amended, a State Constitutional Convention was called. It accordingly met in Raleigh on the 4th of June, 1835, and remained in session five weeks, adjourning on the 11th of July. The old State Capitol had been burned in 1831, and the new building was not finished, so the Convention accepted a patriotic offer from the pastor and congregation of the Presbyterian Church to use that house of worship as a convention hall. Past Grand Master Spaight was a delegate to this convention from Craven County, his colleague being Judge William Gaston, then on the Supreme Court Bench. Spaight's skill and experience in parliamentary law caused him to be chosen chairman of committee to formulate rules for the government of the assemblage. He sided with his colleague, Judge Gaston, in voting for the repeal of the thirty-second section of the old State Convention which provided that no person who denied "the truth of the protestant religion" should be "capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within this State." Judge Gaston, being a Roman Catholic, naturally wished the repeal of the section in question, and its repeal was finally accomplished after a long and heated debate. This section had been in the Constitution since that document was drafted during the Revolutionary War; but, during the six decades of its existence, had never in a single instance excluded a Roman Catholic from office. Governor Thomas Burke and Judge Gaston had already held high offices under the State government, while

the legislative rolls, prior to 1835, bore (among others) the names of Francois Xavier Martin (later Chief Justice of Louisiana) and Matthias E. Manly (later a Judge of the North Carolina Supreme Court)—all of these being members of the Church of Rome. Martin, we may add, was not only a Roman Catholic, but was likewise an enthusiastic Mason, being Past Master of St. John's Lodge, now No. 3, and also one of North Carolina's earliest Masonic writers. At New Bern in 1805 (A. L. 5805), there was published by John C. Simms and Edward G. Moss, a quaint little volume entitled *The Ahiman Rezon and Masonic Ritual*. I am strongly of the opinion that Martin was the compiler of this work, though his name does not appear on title-page. At any rate it contains two productions from his pen. One was a Masonic discourse delivered on the Feast of St. John the Baptist at New Bern in 1789; and the other, delivered on November 29, 1789, was entitled: "A Funeral Oration on the Most Worshipful and Honorable Major-General Richard Caswell, Grand Master of the Masons of North Carolina."

The amended State Constitution of 1835 did not take effect at once. An ordinance of the convention provided that it should first be submitted for ratification by a vote of the people; and, if ratified, should not go into effect until January 1, 1836. Less than a month before the date last mentioned, Past Grand Master Spaight was elected Governor of North Carolina, for a one-year term, by the General Assembly, and was inaugurated on the 10th of December, 1835. His term covered about three weeks of 1835, and the entire year 1836, closing on the 31st of December, in the year last mentioned. His administration fell in happy and uneventful times. His messages to the Legislature dealt with policies then of importance to the State, but which would be of little interest if here recounted.

The new constitution shifted the election of Governor from the Legislature to the people. In the first popular election, Mr. Spaight was nominated by the Democrats to succeed himself,

but was defeated by the Whig candidate, the Honorable Edward B. Dudley, of Wilmington, who entered upon his duties on New Year's Day, 1837. Dudley was the first Governor of North Carolina elected by a direct vote of the people.

After retiring from the office of Governor of North Carolina, Past Grand Master Spaight did not seek further political honors. He was elected a Councilor of State in 1842, but declined to serve. He practiced law for a while and later retired to his plantation, called Clermont, near New Bern, where, with the comforts of an ample fortune at his command, he quietly lived the life of a country gentleman for the remainder of his days. He died unmarried on the 24th of November, 1850.

Though ex-Governor Spaight had been out of public life for nearly fifteen years, the news of his death was received with expressions of regret throughout the State. The General Assembly of North Carolina, then in session, passed resolutions of respect for his memory, and both houses adjourned as a further tribute. The Grand Lodge of North Carolina, which convened soon thereafter, also passed resolutions in his honor. In a sketch of his career, the *Weekly North Carolina Standard*, a paper published in Raleigh, said editorially in its issue of November 27th :

"After his retirement from public life, at the expiration of his term as Governor in 1836, he turned his attention to the pursuits of agriculture, mingling with them a love for literature, and cultivating a still more extensive acquaintance with the history of the past. He possessed a remarkably tenacious memory, so that what he read became a portion of his own mind, and, added to this, were powers of discrimination and habits of judgment seldom surpassed. Quiet and unostentacious, his accomplishments as a scholar and his sterling qualities as a private citizen were known to but a few; but, among those who shared his confidence and friendship, he was held deservedly in the highest respect and esteem. In his public capacity—while serving his constituents, whether in the Legislature, in Congress, or

in the Gubernatorial Chair—he was uniformly actuated and guided by a stern sense of right; and on no occasion did he disappoint the just expectations of those who had confided trusts or power to his hands. Governor Spaight was a Republican of the old school, and was true, always and from the first, to the great principles on which our free institutions have been founded. He had the fullest confidence in the people and in popular forms; and he was willing, therefore, on all occasions, to defer to their decisions and their judgment. But he had no respect for the demagogue, or his arts. What he thought on public matters, he fearlessly said; and what he determined on as right in principle, he did, without regard to temporary excitement or to consequences generally. * * * * The death of such a man creates not only a feeling of profound regret in the circle in which he moved, but it is a loss to the State generally."

In religion, Grand Master Spaight held to the Anglican faith of his colonial forefathers, and was a member of the old parish of Christ Church, in New Bern.

I now turn from the history of Grand Master Spaight, and shall ask your attention to an account of the next Grand Master furnished to the Masons of North Carolina by St. John's Lodge, No. 3, of New Bern.

(To be continued)

SOUTH HAS BRILLIANT ARRAY OF WRITERS OF SHORT STORIES

POE, A VIRGINIAN, ORIGINATED THIS TYPE OF LITERATURE, WHILE O. HENRY, A NORTH CAROLINIAN, TAKES RANK AS ONE OF THE GREAT WRITERS OF THE WORLD; JOEL CHANDLER HARRIS, GEORGE W. CABLE AND OTHERS IN THE SOUTHERN LIST; ANOTHER GREENSBORO WRITER COMING TO THE FRONT.

By NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON, formerly head of the department of English, Elizabethtown College; B. A. and M. A. Roanoke College, Salem, Va.; graduate student Columbia University; for the last ten years engaged in editorial and journalistic work in the State and a frequent contributor in prose and verse to newspapers and magazines.

Edgar Allen Poe, of Virginia, originated the modern short story. O. Henry, of North Carolina, takes rank as one of the greatest short-story writers of the world. Considering also how many other Southern writers have contributed to short-story literature, we can feel that the South is taking an important part in this type of fiction, the short-story; and we can surely look forward to adding many other names to the present long list of Southern short-story writers.

Recently, in New York City, five busts of famous Americans were unveiled. One of them was of Poe. Certainly, Poe is most important in American literature, not only for the magical music of his verse, but also (and perhaps much more so), for his contribution to the short-story literature of the world. For, although story telling is as old as the world, and the scarlet thread of the tale has run through the tapestry of literature since its earliest beginnings, yet the modern brief prose tale, recognized as a legitimate form of literature, began unquestionably with Edgar Allen Poe.

His first story, *Berenice*, written in 1835, marks the beginning of the short-story epoch in literature. Another date, 1842, in which year appeared Poe's criticism on the short stories

of Hawthorne, is as Dr. Alphonso Smith says, "significant in the annals of American literary criticism. It heralded the birth of the American short story as a distinct type." Poe's now famous dictum in regard to short-story writing is as follows:

"A skilful literary artist has constructed a tale. If wise, he has not fashioned his thoughts to accommodate his incidents; but having conceived with deliberate care, a certain unique or single effect to be wrought out, he then invents such incident, he then combines such events as may best aid him in establishing this preconceived effect. If his very initial sentence tend not to the out-bringing of this effect, then he has failed in his first step. In the whole composition there should be no word written, of which the tendency, direct or indirect, is not to the one pre-established design. And by such means, with such care and skill, a picture is at length painted which leaves in the mind of him who contemplates it with a kindred art, a sense of the fullest satisfaction. The idea of the tale has been presented unblemished, because undisturbed, and this is an end unattainable by the novel."

Poe's stories, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, and the *Mystery of Marie Roget*, are the first detective stories of the world. They are the original Sherlock Holmes stories.

The Fall of the House of Usher takes its place as a great short story classic, the unity of effect, the working up, through suspense, to a climax, the marvelous handling of the setting, are strikingly and wonderfully brought out. This story alone would have made Poe famous as a great writer. All nations recognize the great genius of Poe, translations of his stories having been made in nearly all the languages. Especial attention has been given him in France, and the French short stories are a close imitation of Poe's stories.

"Old World Romances," "The Masque of the Red Death," "The Cask of Amontillando," and "The Assignation" are gruesome and full of intense interest.

"William Wilson" and "The Black Cat" are stories of the terrifying kind that deal with conscience. "M.S. Found in a Bottle," and "A Descent Into the Malestrom," so realistically written in spite of their improbability, are among his best known and greatest stories.

The next Southern writer to take up short-story writing was Joel Chandler Harris in his "Uncle Remus Stories." In these he created the finely drawn character of Uncle Remus, the old-time darkey, and also gave to the world the fascinating folk-lore tales of the negro. Harris gave form to the negro dialect, though it must not be forgotten that again Poe is the pioneer here; for, in his "Gold Bug," he used, for the first time in fiction, the dialect of the Southern Negro.

About the same time that Joel Chandler Harris began writing, Thomas Nelson Page began also to write dialect stories. "Marse Chan," "Uncle Edinburgh," "Bred in The Bone," and others, have delighted readers everywhere. The old Southern life "befo' de war" and life in the South after the war are described as perhaps no one else ever has described or ever can describe it.

Many other well-known names may be added. There are George W. Cable with his Creole stories; Charles Egbert Craddock with her stories of Southern mountains; John Fox, Jr., and James Lane Allen with their Kentucky stories.

And in 1910 our greatest short-story writer of modern times died in New York City—O. Henry, William Sidney Porter, of Greensboro, North Carolina. It is hard to give a brief comprehensive estimate of O. Henry as a writer. He handled the short story like a plaything, and while apparently playing with it, evolved a study of life and character that has never been surpassed. "It was not merely that he observed closely," says Dr. Alphonso Smith; "beneath the power to observe and the skill to reproduce lay a passionate interest in social phenomena which with him no other interest ever equalled or ever threatened." "A Municipal Report," a story of Nashville,

Tennessee, has been called by many the world's greatest short story.

Dr. Smith says also: "O. Henry's technique is essentially the technique of De Maupassant but was modified by O. Henry to meet new needs and to subserve diverse purposes. Poe standardized the short story; Hawthorne allegorized the short story; Bret Harte first successfully localized the American short story; O. Henry has humanized the short story."

Stories like those of Irvin S. Cobb give us Southern life of today. Judge Priest takes his place among the famous heroes of fiction; James Branch Cabell is writing short stories of the classic type, and another Greensboro man is a world-famous short-story writer now. Wilbur Daniel Steele, born in Greensboro, is becoming better and better known each year. Stories like "Ching Chang Chinaman," "The Dark Hour," and many others of his are wonderfully well written.

A discussion of Southern short stories would be incomplete without the mention of such writers as Ruth McEnery Stuart (whose delightfully told "Widder Johnsing" is certainly worthy of being ranked among short story classics); Harry Stillwell Edwards, who wrote the inimitable "Aeneas Africanus"; and Samuel Derieux, whose recent death was a sad loss to the world of fiction. We must not forget, either, our own Margaret Busbee Shipp, of Raleigh, whose stories have appeared in leading magazines for several years.

A few months ago, the North Carolina Federation of Women's Clubs decided to award a cup, to be called the O. Henry Memorial Cup, for the best short story written during the year by a North Carolina club woman. This is certainly a decided step in the right direction towards active encouragement of our story writers in this State.

THE PARISHES IN NORTH CAROLINA

FRED A. OLDS

The story of the Parishes in North Carolina, from 1715 to 1778, is one of both interest and importance, by reason of the light it brings to bear upon the Union, quite often attempted and not successful, of Church and State. It was a grafting upon this part of the British Empire of the Established Church and the Colonies in America were placed under the charge of the Lord Bishop of London.

The county or the precinct was a political division or subdivision, the parish was a religious one. The Lords Proprietors, who were the first owners of North Carolina, as a gift to them, his favorites, by King Charles the Second, and the monarchs themselves after they bought it back from the Lords Proprietors, had a great ally in church matters in the person of the powerful organization in England called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

When a county or a precinct was erected (that is formed), a parish was formed at the same time. In some cases there was more than one parish in a county, but in the main there were about as many "Parishes" as there were counties. Parishes had as their particular care and object matters concerning the Church of England, the Established Church of the Province and they had charge of the poor. In 1665 the Lords Proprietors, the eight men who owned North and South Carolina by King Charles the Second's grant, set out that their territory here was to be "divided into Counties, Parishes, Hundreds, Manors, Tribes," etc.

In 1715 the Lords Proprietors decided that "as this Province is a member of the Kingdom of Great Britain and the Church of England, being appointed by the Charter from the Crown to be the only Established Church to have public aid, we do enact that this Province be divided into parishes as follows: Chowan

precinct into the Eastern parish of Chowan precinct; Pasquotank precinct into the Northeast parish of Pasquotank and Southwest parish of Pasquotank; Perquimans, Currituck and Hyde precincts to be parishes as bounded by their several precincts; Beaufort precinct to be one parish by the name of St. Thomas parish; Neuse river and the branches thereof to be one parish by the name of Craven parish, to which all the southern settlements shall be accounted a part of the same parish until further divisions be made. There shall be a vestry in each parish, consisting of the Minister of the parish, when any such shall be resident, and 12 men, whose names are hereinafter mentioned." The vestry and the church-wardens (two of the latter to each parish) were empowered to raise money by a tax of not over 6 shillings on the poll, to maintain the poor and pay preachers.

This act therefore created nine parishes and the vestries embraced principally all the leading men in the province. Each precinct had a marshal (later called sheriff) and he made not only the collections of the taxes for the precinct but those for the parish as well. Practically all the parish records are now lost, but there is a complete set of the Chowan records in St. Paul's church at Edenton. There is in the archives department of the North Carolina Historical Commission the records of St. Gabriel's parish, which embraced the county of Duplin. In 1715 the Assembly passed an act to appoint persons in each parish to call the vestry and church wardens to account for the parish money received by them, but this was not enforced and nothing came of it. (In 1755 the King abrogated it.)

The instructions by the King to Governor George Burrington December 14, 1730, shed a great deal of light on the parish system. These are the words of the King:

"You are to permit liberty of conscience to all persons (except Papists) so as they be contented with a quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the Government. You shall take especial care that God Almighty

be devoutly and duly served throughout your Government, the Book of Common Prayer as by law established read each Sunday and Holiday and the Blessed Sacrament administered according to the rites of the Church of England. You shall take care that the Churches already built there be well and orderly kept and that more be built as the Province shall by God's blessing be improved and that besides a competent maintenance assigned to the Ministers of each Orthodox Church a convenient House be built at the common charge (that is at public expense) for each minister and a competent proportion of land assigned him for a glebe and the exercise of his industry (that is a parcel of land for a garden or little farm in which he could raise supplies). You are to take care that the Parishes be so limited and settled as you shall find most convenient for accomplishing this good work. You are not to prefer (that is to recommend or nominate) any Minister to any Ecclesiastical Benefice in your Province without a certificate from the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of London of his being conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, and of Good Life and Conversation. If any person already preferred to a benefice (that is recommended for a position as a clergyman) shall appear to you to give scandal either by his doctrine or manners you are to use the proper and usual means for his removal and to supply the vacancy as we have directed. You are to order forthwith (if it has not already been done) that every Orthodox Minister within your Government be one of the vestry in his respective parish and that no vestry meeting be held without him except in case of sickness. You are to inquire whether there be any Minister within your Government who preaches and administers the Sacrament in any Orthodox Church or Chapel without being in due orders (that is regularly ordained) and to give an account thereof to the Bishop of London. We do further direct that no school masters be henceforth permitted to go from this Kingdom and keep school in your Province without the license of the Lord

Bishop of London and that no other person now there or who shall come from other parts shall be admitted to keep school in North Carolina without such license first obtained. You are to take care that the table of marriages established by the Canons of the Church of England be hung up in every Orthodox church and duly observed. We have been graciously pleased to grant unto the Right Reverend Father in God Edmund, Lord Bishop of London, a commission under the Great Seal of Great Britain whereby he is empowered to exercise Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction by himself or by such commission as he shall appoint in our several Plantations (colonies) of America."

The act of 1715 creating parishes was repealed in 1741 and a new one became law, by which the Province of North Carolina was divided into 16 parishes, as follows: Chowan County, St. Paul's; Perquimans, Berkeley; Pasquotank, St. Peter's and St. John's; Currituck, Currituck; Bertie, Society and Northwest; Tyrrell, St. Andrews; Beaufort, St. Thomas; Hyde, St. George's; Craven, Christ Church; Onslow, St. John's; New Hanover, St. Phillip's and St. James; Bladen, St. Martin's; Edgecombe, Edgecombe.

The same year, 1741, the Assembly passed an act in regard to parishes in which neglect to use the Litany (a part of the service of the Church of England) was to be punished, unless the offending person was a Known Dissenter (that is of another denomination) by a fine of three pounds. Any Church warden elected to that position who failed to qualify and accept was to be fined 40 shillings. In 1751 an act provided that vestrymen were to be balloted for in their parishes in the same way as in other elections and that only men qualified to sit as members of the General Assembly were eligible for this position.

An extensive enlargement of the number of parishes, due to the erection of new counties (they were no longer called "precincts") began in 1756, when Johnston County was divided into the parishes of St. Patrick and St. Stephen, because it was so large. In 1760 an act was passed allowing the people of

several parishes which had no vestries to elect them. This gave more freedom. In 1756 there was a consolidation of the two parishes of St. John and St. Peter in Pasquotank into one. St. John's parish in Granville was divided and Granville parish formed; the same year Northwest parish in Northampton was divided and St. George's parish formed. Mecklenburg in 1762 was St. Martin's parish; in 1764 St. John's parish in Granville became Bute county; in 1768 Tryon county as St. Thomas' parish was formed; in 1770 Wake county as St. Margaret's parish; in 1773 Surry county as St. Jude's parish; in 1774 Chatham as St. Bartholomew's parish; in 1774 Elizabeth parish in Edgecombe county.

The act of 1767 endowed each parish minister with 100 pounds sterling annually, under the patronage of the Bishop of London. This took the place of the act of 1762, which allowed each 133 pounds, 6 shillings and 8 pence, to be paid by the church wardens each year on or before the 1st day of June; the fee for marriages being, if by license, 20 shillings and if by banns 5 shillings; for publishing banns and giving certificates thereof one shilling and 6 pence; for preaching a funeral sermon, if required, 40 shillings proclamation money. A minister's glebe, or farm, was to be at least 200 acres of good arable land, and his house was to be a "convenient mansion house of 38 feet length, 18 feet width, a kitchen, barn, stable, dairy and meat-house."

In 1767, writing to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, Governor Tryon said: "The following pastors are in the parishes: Christ Church parish, Craven county, Rev. James Reed; St. Matthews, Orange County, George Meiklejohn; St. Thomas, Beaufort county, Alexander Stewart; St. George's, Northampton, Ana Morton; St. John, Pasquotank, Samuel Fisk; Society, Bertie county, Thomas Floyd, all of these established by letters of presentation by the Governor. Chowan parish, Chowan county, Daniel Earl, not appointed by presentation, Edgecombe parish in Halifax, Thomas Burgess,

settled by act of Assembly. St. Philips, Brunswick, John Barnett; St. James, New Hanover, John Willis; St. Patrick's, Dobbs, and St. John's in Bute, (Mr. Cosgreve), are not established. Mr. Tomlinson presides at the head of the only school established in this province by legislative authority, at the last session. Mr. Barnett is waiting until the church at Brunswick is finished before he is presented. The other two, Cupples and Cosgreve, I have not yet heard from. I have sent them to some parishes to see if they liked them."

Governor Tryon went on to say: "The inhabitants of this Province are strict inquisitors and if a clergyman is not of a moral character and his life regular and exemplary he will attract but little esteem to himself and less benefit to his parishioners, so the strictest caution and care are necessary in the recommendation of gentlemen who come to settle as ministers in this province. Some parishes have no minister. Messrs. Reed of New Bern, Earl of Edenton and Stewart of Bath hold as missionaries from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Mr. Moir, another missionary of the Society, died this year. For lack of ministers justices of the peace marry people and bury them, and in 1765 Governor Dobbs was buried by a magistrate, there being no clergyman in 100 miles of Brunswick."

The condition of the churches in 1765 was thus reported by Governor Tryon: "Brunswick, outside walls built and roofed; Wilmington, walls only finished; New Bern, in good repair; Bath and Edenton, considerable repairs needed. No British colony stands so much in need of regular moral clergymen. There are now 32 parishes and 28 more ministers are required. Chapels are established in every county, served by a reader where no clergymen can be procured. In March of this year Rev. Mr. Whitfield (a famous Methodist leader and evangelist) delivered a sermon at Wilmington which would have done him honor had he delivered it in the royal chapel of St. James' Palace in London." In the same year Whitfield preached a

powerful sermon in the English Church at New Bern, which was given great approbation by the royal officials and the general public.

In 1767 a report said: "There are in the Province of North Carolina 30,730 taxable persons (heads of families) which at 4 persons to a family, deducting the heads or taxables, are 122,920 souls, and but one or two ministers of the Church of England are among them."

When Governor Tryon became Governor of North Carolina he found only 5 clergymen of the Established Church here; when he left, early in 1771, there were 18. His last report on church affairs in the province, in 1767, has great interest as bearing on the parish system and religious conditions generally, He was very favorable to the Presbyterians and quite so to the Quakers. Here is his report on the counties, parishes, number of white taxables (men over 18 fit to bear arms) and remarks. Anson county, St. George's parish, 696 taxables, the inhabitants in general poor and incapable to support a minister. Beaufort, St. Thomas, 110, Rev. Mr. Stewart incumbent, by presentation. Bertie, Society, 930, capable to maintain and willing to receive a minister. Bladen, St. Martin, 791, the inhabitants in middling circumstances. Brunswick, St. Philip's 224, the inhabitants mostly gentlemen. Bute, St. John's 1299, Rev. Mr. Cupples incumbent, by presentation. Carteret, St. John's, 470, similar to Anson county. Chowan, St. Paul's, 900, Rev. Mr. Earl incumbent, never applied for induction. Craven, Christ church, 1378, Rev. Mr. Reed incumbent, by presentation. Cumberland, St. David's 899, mostly Scotch, support a Presbyterian minister. Currituck, Currituck, 400, similar to Anson county. Dobbs, St. Patrick, 1268; Rev. Mr. Miller incumbent, by presentation. Duplin, St. Gabriel, 1071, Rev. Hobart Briggs incumbent, by presentation. Edgecombe, St. Mary, 1200, able and willing to receive a minister. Granville, Granville, 1022, similar to Edgecombe. Halifax, Edgecombe, 1500, Rev. Mr. Burgess incumbent, by act of Assembly, 1764. Hertford, St. Barnabas, 900,

able to make provision for a minister. Hyde, St. George, 441, similar to Anson. Johnston, St. Stephen, 1229, able to make provision for a minister. Mecklenburg, St. Martin, 1600, mostly Presbyterians. New Hanover, St. James, 511, able to support but express no desire to receive an inducted minister. Northampton, St. George, 1600, intended for Rev. Mr. Burnett, good parish. Onslow, St. John, 716, willing to receive but hardly capable of making provision for a minister. Orange, St. Matthews, 3,573, Rev. Mr. Meiklejohn incumbent, by presentation. Pasquotank, St. John, 433, Rev. Mr. Fisk, by presentation, weak parish. Perquimans, Berkeley, 900, inhabitants in middling circumstances. Pitt, St. Michael, 775, small county, willing to make provision. Rowan, St. Luke, 3,000, very able, mostly Presbyterians. Tryon, St. Thomas, too unsettled to make provision. Tyrrell, St. Andrew, 594, similar to Anson.

The authority of overlooking His Majesty's Plantations in America appears to have passed from the Bishop of London in the time of Bishop Gibson, for in a letter to the Lords of Trade the Bishop of London wrote in 1771 that "the North Carolina vestries have taken to themselves the patronage of all the 'livings' in the Province, and have set up over the clergy a jurisdiction quite inconsistent with the Church of England and which excludes the Bishop of London and which transfers all the King's supremacy to the vestries, which are so far from copying after the Church of England that I rather suspect they borrowed this model of their government from the Presbyterians and Independents of New England. The present Bishop of London cannot go on with the jurisdiction in North Carolina as his predecessor had done ever since the settling of the Colony, because the jurisdiction did not come to me at the foot of customary usage as it had done to my predecessors until Bishop Green's time, but when he was told by the Attorney General and the Solicitor general that the jurisdiction was in the Crown and that the Bishop of London had no right to meddle it was time for me to consider the danger that attends the invasion of the

prerogative of the Crown, which I judge it not proper for me to do."

In 1771 the Assembly declared "all free negroes and mulatto women and wives of free negroes and mulattoes, tithables, chargeable for defraying the public, county and parish tax levies of this Province," and petitions poured in on the Governor, declaring this was "highly derogatory of the rights of free-born subjects."

June 20th, 1772, Governor Martin reported to the Bishop of London what he declared to be the totally unjust dismissal of James Tomlinson, the master of the public school in New Bern (established in 1766 by the Assembly) who was also the Church Reader of that Parish (Christ Church) while the rector was absent nearly half the year in the remote parts of his wide parish. Governor Martin urged that the King disallow the act of Assembly which gave the trustees such power. The Governor said he had been able to give little or no attention to church matters.

In 1778 the General Assembly enacted a law doing away with the whole system of parishes and the union of church and state. Here and there are relics of that old Colonial regime, as in Wake county three townships are St. Mary's St. Marks, and St. Matthew's. In Franklin county there is to this day a piece of ground whereon there was a church in those times and where the graveyard remains.

Berkeley parish embraced what is now Perquimans and part of Gates, and was named for Gov. Berkeley, of Virginia, who was also one of the Lords Proprietors of North and South Carolina.

Although the parishes were abolished in 1778, yet in some cases they continued to function, as the records of St. Gabriel's parish (Duplin county) continued until 1808, and the church wardens, as civil officers, had charge of all matters relating to the poor. In this record the change from English money to United States was not made until 1805.

SHIPWRECK OFF HATTERAS, 1812

(An extract from the diary of MRS. M. A. BURWELL)

"The following was written by Mrs. Harris (afterwards Mrs. King), sister of Mrs. Judge Nash, of Hillsboro, describing a shipwreck off Cape Hatteras to which she and her young sister Lydia (afterwards Mrs. Holdrich, of New York) were exposed. It was written while 'Lydia' was quite a child. I met Mrs. Holdrich in Hillsboro; had one of her daughters at our school awhile, and during my stay in New York, while there in deep affliction, she was to me kind, attentive friend."

New Berne, February 28, 1812.

You request, my dear Mary, the particulars of our late voyage. Ah! Where shall I begin or how end in relating the events of this disastrous voyage, in recounting to you all the mercies experienced during its course, the wonderful and oft experienced goodness of our Heavenly Parent, but for which I should not now be penning a letter for your perusal, and you, sister of my heart, would have been lamenting the loss of two beings connected to you by tender and endearing ties; lost in an awful manner—plunged into a watery grave. "Bless the Lord oh my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name. Bless the Lord oh my soul, and forget not all His benefits; who redeemed thy life from destruction; who crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies. Bless the Lord, oh my soul!"

We sailed from New York Saturday, December 1st, with a favorable wind, which continued only until the next day about noon. On Monday the wind shifted 'round, and from that hour till the day of our shipwreck (24th December), severe gales, head-winds and dead calms alternated. Much did we suffer. I think I was more dreadfully sick than on any former voyage. Dear Lydia suffered from sea-sickness only one day;

from fear, I believe, not an hour. She was the life of the party; the admiration of all on board. Captain Pike declares he never loved a child so much.

The Saturday night after we left New York we had a tremendous gale, and were in imminent danger. The wind blew so violently that we were driven at the rate of ten miles an hour towards the Hook without a single sail up. It thundered tremendously, and as I lay in my berth I saw the vivid flashes of lightning playing over the companion way. Rain, hail and snow succeeded each other, and had not a kind Providence endowed our captain with great firmness and presence of mind in a critical moment we must all have been lost. I felt we were in great danger; I pressed our darling Lydia to my bosom and exclaimed, "Oh, that I had left you at home!" She, undaunted, replied, "I am very glad I am with you, my dear sister; what would you, so sick, have done without me?" During all the dangers of the voyage, her fortitude and confidence in her Heavenly Father never forsook her. She manifested more firmness than any of the other females on board. Almost every other night we had severe gales; repeatedly we were driven into the Gulf stream when we were anticipating crossing the bar in a few hours. Sixteen days and nights we lay in that dangerous place; our wood gave out, provisions grew short, and the patience of the crew was nearly exhausted. When the passengers were entertaining the most sanguine hopes of landing in New Berne in a few hours, suddenly a head wind would spring up and blow us back into the Gulf. Then the gentlemen would exclaim, "Never was anything so unlucky!" "Oh! do not call it luck," Lydia would say, "I do not believe there is any such thing; Providence directs all things." The gentlemen could not subscribe to this opinion, but her vivacity would dispel the gloom. They would smile and assert that she was "quite a little philosopher."

The evening of the 23d a most tremendous gale came on after a dark and disagreeable day. We were then approaching

Cape Hatteras. Captain Pike was on deck the whole evening, and, I verily believe, acted a faithful and prudent part. The mate, who was the brother of our captain, was very sick in his berth. The lead was hove, we were in soundings, the wind blowing directly on shore. Under such circumstances, Captain Pike justly deemed it dangerous to proceed further towards the Cape or to lie there. Accordingly he turned about and made off again to sea. The lead was constantly hove till near midnight, when we were out of soundings, and then the vessel was laid to. All danger, we thought, was over, and we lay quietly down to sleep. Alas! we are often in the greatest danger when we think ourselves most secure. Before daylight the wind suddenly changed. This raised heavy opposite seas, and so strong was the current that it drove us with irresistible violence towards the shore. About five o'clock on the morning of the 24th *we struck*. Conceive, if you can, my dear Mary, the horrors of that moment! In an instant we were all out of our berths; the captain flew on deck, the vessel began to fill with water and inclined much on one side, which was soon overflowed. Down the cabin stairs rushed the captain, exclaiming, "By the eternal God, we're on the breakers!" Oh, what a sound was that! I pulled dear Lydia toward Mr. Davis, a gentleman who had been shipwrecked about a year previous, and who had promised assistance should any misfortune befall us. "Do, Mr. Davis, endeavor to save this poor child!"

He replied with a look of despair that froze me with horror, "Mrs. Harris, nothing can be done; we are all lost, there is no hope!"

Shrieks of anguish resounded through the vessel; it thumped violently on the breakers, and in a few moments was turned over nearly on its beam ends.

The gentlemen stood around like statutes of despair, deeming all efforts to save themselves or us useless. Mr. Davis held my hand with one of his, with the other he held a candle, when

a heavy sea broke over the vessel, shivered the skylight to atoms, rushed into the cabin and extinguished the light. The cabin was nearly filled with water. Mr. Griswold came toward me and said: "Mrs. Harris, you had better get the ladies, Miss Haines and Miss Henry, into your room, their's is fast filling with water."

I entreated him to bring them in, and to their incessant cries of "Can nothing be done to save us?" Mr. Davis replied, "If Mrs. Harris will consent to my leaving you, I will go on deck and see if anything can possibly be done." I quickly withdrew my hand and urged him to go.

They now discovered that we were not, as had been apprehended, on the shoals of Cape Hatteras, but near the beach, though at such a distance they could not jump on it. The breakers ran too high to permit them to swing ashore, and the long-boat had long ago burst from its holdings and floated off. All they could do, therefore, was to cling to the shrouds, though almost dead with the intense cold, in the feeble hope that our situation might be discovered and we receive assistance.

Soon after Mr. Davis left, I begged Mr. Griswold also to go, as he could do nothing for us while below, and, perhaps, on deck, he might be able to do something.

He also went, leaving Miss Henry, Miss Haines, Lydia, my two servants and myself in my state room—every man was then above. Scarce had Mr. Griswold left us when an awful wave rushed in, swept down the cabin stairs, the stove, the bell and every thing in its way. All communication with those on deck seemed now cut off; heavy seas were constantly rushing in upon us and we all thought ourselves drowning. I entreated the dear girls with me to commit their souls to God, before whose tribunal, I thought, they would in a few moments stand.

Miss Henry rushed past me exclaiming, "O, Mrs. Harris, do not let us stay here and be drowned; let us try to get on deck!"

She went to the skylight, put her hand through the broken bars and screamed most piteously for help.

Mr. Griswold heard again and came to her aid. "Through here, Miss Henry, you cannot be taken, but go to the binnacle and I will endeavor to get you on deck."

Scarce had he spoken when a tremendous sea burst over, which threw him on the boom, and Miss Henry on her back. It beat with such violence on her breast as she lay holding on to the iron to which the bell had been suspended, and buoyed up by the water in the cabin, that she was nearly exhausted. As soon as she could speak, she cried in a feeble voice, "Mrs. Harris, I am almost gone."

I extended my hand to draw her into the room, but by this time we were both so much exhausted that I found that I could not do it without letting go my hold of Lydia, who was encircled with one arm. I turned to Tempe, one of my servants, who was trembling beside me, and ordered her to put out her hands and assist Miss Henry in getting in.

The poor girl was dragged almost lifeless into the room and laid on my berth, which, owing to the inclined position of the vessel, remained dry.

Tempe then cried, "Do, mistress, let me go on deck and see if nothing can be done to save us!" She flew by me to the binnacle, another sea came over and I saw her no more. I thought it had swept her overboard. I said to the girls, "Poor Tempe has gone; we shall soon follow her."

Mark, my dear Mary, the wonderful goodness of God to me in this awful moment of extremity. Even then He graciously afforded me strength and presence of mind to sit by the door and, keeping my finger in the keyhole, hold it to, thus preventing much water from rushing in; though often a wave would beat over the vessel which, pouring into the cabin, would force open the door and completely overwhelm us.

Our gracious God inspired me with composure to soothe, in some measure, the extreme agitation of the poor girls, who

till they came into my room could only shriek and entreat the gentlemen to save them; but now our hearts and voices were raised to that Omnipotent Being who alone could save us, could save our never-dying souls from endless woe, for of our bodies being rescued from the yawning deep I had now relinquished all expectation.

Not a sound was heard by us from the deck, so loud and awfully roared the breakers, and I verily thought that the captain, sailors and passengers had all been swept overboard. I thought we were all alone in the shattered vessel, and at such a distance from any human beings that we could not be descried.

When the girls would say, "Dear Mrs. Harris, do you not think we may receive assistance from the shore?" I would reply, "Oh, no! We are too far from shore to expect it; we must only pray, my dear girls, that our souls may be accepted by God through Jesus Christ. That most blessed Saviour, who spoke peace to the dying thief, can, by the Holy Spirit, apply his precious blood to our souls even now in this our last hour, raise your hearts to God." And did we not pray? Yes, most fervently. I tried to draw off my thoughts from this world and fix them on that eternity I was so soon to enter, but your image, my dear Mary, and that of my dear husband and parents, weeping over the sad fate of those so dear to them, would force themselves upon me and cause my heart to throb with anguish.

At this instant a heavy sea came over, burst open our door, completely overwhelming us, and for some time I thought we were drowning. My mouth and eyes filled with water; it was a minute or two ere I could speak. I gasped for breath, and as soon as I could give utterance to my thoughts, said, "My dear girls, the next wave will probably seal our fate."

We then sat in awful stupefaction awaiting death, but, O, my sister, it was death in such an awful form! I looked out at the door—naught could be seen but the awful breakers rolling over the remains of the vessel and smoking like a

vast building in flames. The cabin was several feet deep in water, on which were floating trunks, baskets, mattresses and bedding. Crash! crash! went the broken vessel continually. The hold broke open with violence, and boxes, barrels, etc., were bursting out. The berth in which we sat began filling with water; the planks beneath our feet began to separate, displaying the roaring waves, which seemed gaping to swallow us. I caught our dear Lydia to my breast. "Oh, my sister! I wish I had not brought you with me; our poor parents would have suffered enough in the loss of one child snatched from them in this awful manner."

Miss Haines cried out, "Oh, must we perish in this awful way!" Lydia again pressed to me, saying, "If we are prepared for death, sister, it makes no difference whether it meets us on sea or land."

"Ah!" thought I, "dear child, if we were all innocent like you." Upwards of an hour we remained in this state—a state of horror which no pen, no tongue can describe. One must have been in a similar situation to have any adequate idea of what we endured; our bodily anguish was lost in the agony of mind.

At length, when hope was extinct, when we had nearly ceased to think of this world, and bent our eyes only on eternity, another wave burst open the door and Miss Haines rapturously exclaimed, "Oh, there is a man coming to our relief!" I thought she was deceiving herself, and trembled for her mistake; but in an instant a large, intrepid negro was seen by us all making his way over the scattered remnants of the vessel to our room—quickly passed on discovering that we were alive (which he had not expected), and made up to the dead-lights, which, with wonderful strength, he pushed out with his arm (although they had withstood the force of so many waves), and then handed Miss Haines, Miss Henry, Lydia, myself and the remaining servant out of the cabin window to some men who stood on the beach to receive us, for we had by this

time drifted so near the shore that when the surf retreated the men could run down to the vessel, secure one and retreat before the returning surf endangered their lives. Thus were we all saved—except the mate, a young man, brother of Captain Pike, who, in attempting to swim ashore, was drowned before his brother's eyes while making ineffectual efforts to rescue him. The remainder of the crew stood on the broken deck, clinging to the shrouds, till the inhabitants of the island ran down and took them. They were so benumbed that they could not stand up. As soon as they were taken off the Captain said to the men who came to their assistance, "For God's sake try to get the ladies out of the cabin; I fear they are all drowned there." It seemed to be the general opinion that none of us were living. But the master of the negro asked him if he would venture into the cabin. Without hesitation he consented. He was accustomed to such scenes (for ship wrecks are very frequent), and knew that for him there was no actual danger. He got us out safely, as I have related.

We were taken with our wet night-clothes on and nearly perished with cold (you recollect how cold it was) to a miserable little hut about a mile from the shore. I was carried like a corpse by two men, one holding my head, the other my feet. My night-cap had been washed from my head, and my long hair trailed on the sand, Lydia, who was carried by a man ahead, said I looked most awfully—so pallid, so stiffened, so corpse-like. When Captain Pike met Lydia he burst into tears, overjoyed at learning we were all alive; never, he says, did he experience greater satisfaction.

And now, my dear sister, how shall I describe our sensations when we were a little revived and found ourselves in safety on land? We thought not of the losses we had sustained, we only lamented poor Pike's untimely fate. "Joy, gratitude and pity wept at once" when we saw the anguish of our worthy captain, and heard him say, "My brother's death will be heavy news to my poor mother; he was her youngest and favorite

son." I also wept when I thought what would have been our parent's agony if they had lost their youngest darling, Lydia, similar, I thought an hour before, our fate would be but we were graciously preserved. What fervent gratitude did the reflection produce? The inmates of the wretched dwelling to which we were carried prepared some food for us, but my heart was too full to permit me to eat. The succeeding night four ladies, four sailors and two negroes slept before the same fire—miserable were our accommodations, but we felt only gratitude.

Again, my dear Mary, admire with me the merciful providence of God. Had the vessel struck one hour sooner, it is said, we must all have perished, as the crew of one that struck a mile from us did. Had I complied with the earnest entreaties of the girls and gone on deck, we must have been drowned, for the men could scarce preserve their hold when the waves beat upon them. They afterwards told me that Captain Pike, in his deep concern for us, once said, "Let us try and get the ladies on deck, they will all perish in the cabin." He ran to the binnacle for this purpose, but was happily prevented by some of the gentlemen, who said, "Let them remain where they are, their chance is best in the state-room; here they cannot stand it." (Ah! had it been left to chance, what would have been our present condition?) Behold once more, the gracious providence of our Heavenly Father. When the vessel struck, her broadside was to the shore, but after the gentlemen were taken off and her main deck had given away, she suddenly turned her stern to the shore. Thus we could be taken through the cabin windows, the only way by which we could be saved. Had we been on the shores of Cape Hatteras (as we at first thought), doubtless we should all have perished, but we struck on the shoals eight miles north of the Cape. The wretches on this island are a disgrace to humanity. I could not have believed that so much depravity was in human beings. Exulting in the calamity which has thrown us among

them, though pretending to sympathize in our distress, they would steal the wet clothes which we took from our backs and hung out to dry, and everything belonging to us which they could lay their hands on. They were really a set of harpies watching for their prey, and would actually take it from before our eyes and destitute as we were. Ere we left the island they stripped us of every thing they could.

You, my dear sister, as well as myself, lost a number of valuable articles by our shipwreck, among which were the following: A keg of excellent currant wine, Josephus and some other valuable books, an elegant lace hat and a feather for your beaver, three honey-comb hats for the children, corresponding indispensables, coral and bells for Sarah Kollock, a hat like her mantle, aprons, handkerchiefs, and scarlet cloth capes for the children, dolls, little stockings and kid gloves, a handsome pair of moccasins for Judge Nash, aprons and bombaset frocks for the children, glass for your pictures, garden seed, &c., &c. I lost, besides my trunk of clothes, a large box of books, one of sweetmeats, pickles, bedding, and a number of other articles; but our lives were preserved, and we desire to be thankful for this unmerited mercy. We remained on the island four days, then hired a vessel and with much difficulty got to Mr. Vail's three days after, where Miss Henry and myself were confined to our beds two days. We sent information of our situation to our friends here. Oh! how much they had suffered. They hired the cutter, and my husband, with Dr. Beckwith, Mr. Taylor, and Mr. Henry, went down on it, reaching Mr. Vail's Tuesday evening. You can judge how agitating was our meeting. We left there the succeeding Sunday and reached home on Monday night. Pray for me, my dear sister, that I may never forget the great goodness of God; that the recollection of our imminent dangers and astonishing preservation may never, never be effaced from my mind, but that I may be enabled to devote to His service the life He has so wonderfully preserved. "What shall I

render unto the Lord for all his benefits toward me? The sorrows of death compassed me; the pains of hell got hold upon me; I found trouble and sorrow, then called I upon the name of the Lord, Oh Lord, I beseech thee deliver my soul. Gracious is the Lord and merciful."

Mrs. King died in Hillsboro, and is buried here in our graveyard. Sally Nash was named for her, and is the Sarah Kollock mentioned in this letter. I have copied it as an instance of the merciful providence of an unchanging God, and hope those who read it may be led to see that God is "ever gracious, ever wise."

THE GIRL OF LONG AGO

BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON

Nearly a century and a half have elapsed since the Colonial period. According to the reckoning of time, this is brief space, but during that interval wonderful changes undreamed of before have transpired and centuries seem to have crowded into those eventful years. We see the moving spirits of that time through the softening mist that envelops the past, that eliminates their defects, and magnifies their virtues and attractions.

What of the type of woman that was the crowning glory of that era? She was an indispensable factor in establishing the Thirteen Colonies; sharing the dangers and bearing the hardships of those unsettled times as heroically as did the men. In all that span of years, from the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth to the era of the Revolution, there were no productions in art or letters from the women of the Colonies, the efforts of Mercy Otis Warren, which began about that period, being perhaps the only exception. The needle overshadowed the brush and pen, and activity and energy that are unbelievable filled their lives to the brim. Simplicity was the keynote of those days and thrift and patience were virtues then universally practiced. Nothing was wasted, for the Colonies were struggling for existence and in so doing became independent through self-support. Men labored to establish homes, then to raise supplies and material for their own clothing. Those were days when men and women felt strongly and knew full well the meaning of loyalty, sacrificing their all, if opportunity presented itself, in silence for their king.

What noble examples were set all future generations by those splendid women of the Colonial days in manners and morals. Their great dignity, modesty, lofty sense of duty, undivided devotion to the home, heroic bravery, deep religious faith, neighborly kindness, and grace and charm of manner

rendered them worthy objects of the admiration and veneration with which that type is regarded. Justly do they deserve the founding of an order that is to perpetuate the things worth while for which they stood. In the Daughters of the Revolution and the Women of the Confederacy were reflected the sublimest qualities of their Colonial foremothers. The gift of heredity is apparent, their characters differed only in the adaptation to the times in which they lived, moved and had their being. Blessed indeed is this country in the substantial foundations laid by her sturdy, brave pioneers.

In the days of the Colonies marriage was the only future to which a girl looked forward and she generally entered the responsibilities of that state in the teens. All married. As the writer recalls the innumerable genealogical tables she has examined and biographies read she can recall only two maids who died maids—the fair Evelyn Byrd of “Westover,” and that demure little Quakeress, Sally Wister, whose “Journal” has been so attractively published by Dr. Albert Cook Myers. When a woman married, her fortune became her husband’s. The vast acres Catherine Beekman brought by her marriage with a Van Cortlandt to that ancient family are still remembered in allusion to the historic Van Cortlandt Manor and estate. So also is the property of Mary Mann, the heiress of Timberneck, regarded by those who speak of the Page seat and fortune. Because marriage was the only goal, the Colonial maid received education that prepared her for the management of a household. In New England the industries of the time in which she had become proficient through instruction were followed through practice, in the South through training and superintendence of the slaves. Each section was equally industrious, the enervating climate of the Southern Colonies requiring greater exertion than did the more bracing air of New England. It is to be regretted that the dames of that day spent so much time in the making of cloth, the preparation of delicacies for the table and polishing the pewter and

silver, and left scant record of their lives. As letter writers they indulged sparingly. No wonder, when the mails were so few and far between. Mail was carried from Philadelphia to the Potomac only eight times a year.

What a busy body was the farmer's daughter. In the intricacies of hatchelling and reeling, weaving and bleaching, cooking, candle and cheese making, she was carefully instructed. She was an adept in the arts required. At four, just as soon as the wee fingers could hold the needle, she was taught to knit. Mittens and stockings ever after she turned out constantly for the family and for sale. A pair of double mittens was considered "a sharp and long day's work." To every girl of high and low degree spinning was taught, for it was an essential industry, and spinning schools were set up throughout the Colonies and spinning was compulsory—each family was to spin so many pounds of flax annually, or pay a fine. Women of high and low degree would take their spinning wheels and spin on Boston Common, while prizes were offered for amount spun and quality. Two skeins of linen thread constituted a good day's work, while the one who spun six skeins was a swift spinner and received eight cents a day and "keep" for the labor. Every farmer raised flax and wool and some hemp. Sheep raising was encouraged and the dog that killed a sheep must be hanged by the owner, who was also required to pay twice the value of the sheep. There was a weaver in every household and traveling weavers found constant occupation. Bleaching and dyeing must be learned by the fair maid and on winter evenings the fruit of the loom was converted into clothes for the family and household furnishings, such as aprons, shirts, petticoats, gloves (from the spinner's own glove pattern), "board cloths" (table cloths), napkins, pillow-biers, valances and testers for the four-post bedsteads and a dozen or more other articles. Napkins were needed in great quantities, for in the earliest days of the Colonies forks were unknown. Governor John Winthrop owned

and used the first fork that was brought to America; that was in 1633, and not until thirty or forty years later were a few two-tined iron and silver forks brought to Virginia, New York and Massachusetts. Crocus, fustian, osenbrig, striped frocking and "Virginia Cloth" were some of the materials used. Goose picking was another duty that fell to the Colonial girl. Three and four pickings a year were necessary.

The mistress of the house was provident; in the spring she dipped a supply of candles that would last until the next spring. Wax from the bee-hive and bayberries and tallow were thus utilized. Two hundred candles a day were the average number made. Soft soap, with the treasured grease and lye from the ashes, was made in the autumn. A barrel a day was turned out by the industrious. This was used in the monthly wash, while some households had wash day every three months. Soap for the toilet was produced from the wax of the bayberry. Preserving fruits took up much of the housewife's time and pickling was a favorite process of storing away samphire, fennel, purple cabbage, nasturtium buds, green walnuts, lemons, radishpods, barberries, elder buds, parsley, mushrooms, asparagus and various kinds of fish and fruits. They candied fruits and nuts and made fruit wines and cordials galore. Even the medicines were all made in the home. November proved the busiest month of the year, when meats were pickled and salted for the annual supply. Straw was braided for hats, carpets woven, lace made, bags knit and beaded, articles of dress and ornamentation were embroidered and wonderfully designed quilts were made. In fact the dame and damsel of the Colonies ate not the bread of idleness in their busy, useful lives. They were happy and home was their throne. Perhaps a quotation from the diary of Abigail Foote of Colchester, Connecticut, written in 1775, may be interesting and show more clearly what a Colonial girl's duties were:

"Fix'd gown for Prude,—Mend Mother's Riding-hood,—
Spun short thread,—Fix'd two gowns for Welsh's girls,—

Carded tow,—Pun linen,—worked on Cheese-basket,—Hatched with Hannah, We did 51 lbs. apiece,—Pleated and ironed,—Read a sermon of Doddridge's,—Spooled linen, did 50 knots,—Made a Broom,—of Guinea wheat straw,—Spun thread to whiten,—Set a red dye,—Had two scholars from Mrs. Taylor's,—I carded two pounds of whole wool and felt Nationly,—Spun harness twine,—Scoured the pewter."

Cotton was used for padding bedquilts, petticoats, and warrior's armor from the time of its first appearance in 1721. In 1792 a Yankee school master, Eli Whitney, revolutionized agriculture by inventing the cotton gin. After that as much cotton could be cleaned off the seed in one day by the gin as a hand-picker would take a year to accomplish. A pound a day was the amount picked by hand.

As time advanced rare silks and laces and fashionable accessories of the day were imported from Europe, and the Colonial dames and damsels were on state occasions as handsomely gowned as their relatives across the seas. Dresses were carefully preserved in those days and even the wealthy in all of the Colonies respected and practiced economy. It is related of Martha Washington that she always dyed her worn silk gowns and scraps a pretty shade, then ravelled the delicate thread and wound on bobbins. Chair and cushion covers were woven therefrom, then again, the upholstering of chairs and the General's wornout stockings were ravelled and woven into dress material. What careful saving, for General Washington at the time of his death was considered the wealthiest man in America, his fortune being valued at \$750,000.00.

In the South no finer type of the Colonial maid has been known than Eliza Lucas, afterwards Mrs. Charles Pinckney, of South Carolina. All who have not done so should read her life by Mrs. Harriott Horry Ravenel. As a girl of sixteen, she, her invalid mother and little sister Polly went to live at Wappoo. Her father, Colonel George Lucas, being Royal Governor of Antigua, was unable to be with his family. The

estate was one of his three plantations, and was six miles from Charleston by water. It was hoped that here Mrs. Lucas' health might be improved. To this young girl was entrusted the management of that vast estate. She experimented with various crops, hoping to find a profitable commodity for exportation, and finally succeeded in introducing the cultivation of indigo into the Colony. This in time became the chief highland staple of South Carolina, the annual export before the Revolution amounting to one million, one hundred and seven thousand and sixty-six pounds. She was very successful with silk culture, which she revived in the Province. This was work she gave to the slaves who could perform no other. The little negroes fed the worms with mulberry leaves and she and her maids "reeled" the silk. Such a quantity of raw silk did she have that on going to England some years after she had three beautiful and exceedingly handsome dresses made therefrom. One she presented to the Princess Dowager of Wales (mother of George III), another to Lord Chesterfield, who had proved a friend to the Colony, and the third, a rich lustrous yellow brocade, is owned by a descendant and has been loaned to Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C., where it is now on exhibition.

Miss Lucas was educated in England, a great reader, a musician, an ornament to society and possessed an unusual degree of executive ability. In a letter to Miss Bartlett of Charleston she enumerated her many daily duties in answer to the query what kept her so busy in the country:

"In genl. I rise at five o'clock in the morning, read till seven —then take a walk in the garden or fields, see that the Servants are at their respective business, then to breakfast. The first hour after breakfast is spent in Musick, the next is constantly employed in recolecting something I have learned, least for want of practice it should be quite lost, such as french and short hand. After that, I devote the rest of the time till I dress for dinner, to our little polly, and two black girls who

I teach to read, and if I have my papa's approbation (my mama's I have got) I intend for school mistress's for the rest of the Negro children. Another scheme you see, but to proceed, the first hour after dinner, as the first after breakfast, at musick, the rest of the afternoon in needle work till candle light, and from that time to bed read or write; 'tis the fashion here to carry our work abroad with us so that having company, without they are great strangers, is no interruption to your affairs, but I have particular matters for particular days which is an interruption to mine. Monday my musick Master is here. Tuesday my friend Mrs. Chardon (about three miles distant) and I are constantly engaged to each other, she at our house one Tuesday and I at hers the next, and this is one of the happiest days I spend at Wappoo. Thursday the whole day except what necessary affairs of the family take up, is spent in writing, either on the business of the plantation or on letters to friends. Every other Friday, if no company, we go vizeting, so that I go abroad once a week and no oftener."

We of the present who feel our lives too crowded must be put to the blush by the wonders achieved by the daughters of the Colonies. Their energy has been transmitted in a more intellectual form but certainly not their thrift and patience. For all time the Colonial standard for woman cannot fail to challenge admiration.

LETTER FROM REVEREND CHARLES MANLY

What a heritage we have in our kindred! I wish I knew more about many of them than I do. But I gladly cherish the memory of all I have ever known personally or of whom I have heard. I first met your mother and other members of the family when my father took us all on a trip to North Carolina in 1854. He was not in good health—worn by exhausting labors involved in the presidency of the University of Alabama, which began in 1837. The doctor prescribed that he should ride on horse-back all the way to North Carolina. I drove the rockaway, in which were my mother and my sisters, Sarah and Abby, while my younger brothers, James and Fuller, were in the baggage wagon, containing tents and beds and cooking utensils, driven by our man-servant, Larry, who afterward accompanied my brother Fuller in the Confederate army and is buried near Bean's Station in Tennessee.

We camped all the way, and were several weeks in making the journey.

I shall never forget our visit to Uncle Charles' family. I retain distinct impressions of every member present then; and I particularly remember the native hilarity with which your grandfather enlivened every occasion when we were all together, just the treatment that my father especially needed and which we all greatly enjoyed. How eagerly I afterward scanned the newspapers for tidings from Virginia of the battery of Cousin Basil, who was my companion every day, while there, and took me all over Raleigh. I had a fine time with Cousins Ida, Sophie and Helen,—tho' I don't remember the order of their ages.

(CHAS. MANLY.)

Copied from a letter written to me May 24th, 1922. O. B. G.

Perhaps a few words of explanation are necessary. The journey described was made by the Reverend Basil Manly, formerly of Pittsboro, N. C.—then of Alabama.

The Reverend Basil Manly was the brother of Governor Charles Manly and Judge Matthias Manly.

The Reverend Charles Manly, the writer of the letter (dated May 24th, 1922) in which the journey is described, is the son of the Rev. Basil Manly and is now 85 years of age. He lived, at one time, in Greenville, S. C., then in Virginia, now makes his home with his son in Chicago.

O. B. G.

COLONEL JAMES MARTIN*

He it was who proposed the name "Raleigh" for our Capital City.
(Twin City Daily)

Col. James Martin, of Winston, yesterday showed the Sentinel an old copy of the Salisbury Watchman, of the date Nov. 8th, 1834. It contained an obituary of his uncle, the distinguished Col. James Martin, one of the founders of the city of Raleigh. It will be remembered that a good deal of adverse criticism has of late been bestowed upon the Raleigh aldermen for changing the name of the street in the capital city named for Col. Martin.

The obituary was written by Col. Hamilton C. Jones, father of Col. H. C. Jones, of Charlotte, and at the time editor of the Watchman.

The following is an interesting extract from the obituary:

"He (Col. Martin) was several times a member of the General Assembly and perhaps a member of the Electoral College of the State, and was in the commission that located the present seat of government. As a small matter of interest to the State of North Carolina, it may not be amiss to mention that he first proposed the name 'Raleigh' as suitable for our Capital City. He bore several other minor civil offices in the course of his long life, all of which he discharged with faithfulness."

Col. Martin died on the 30th of October, 1834.

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The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.**

CONTENTS

Governor Abner Nash----- BY FRANK NASH	3
A Turning Point in the Life of the People of the State----- Henry McCullough and his Irish Settlement----- BY V. FAISON WILLIAMS	12 32
Plea for Monticello----- Residence of John Gray Blount, Esq., Built in 1778—Taken Down, 1923, Washington, N. C.----- BY LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN	40 46
Alonzo Thomas Jerkins----- Charles Cauthorn Clark----- John Louis Taylor----- BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD	53 57 61
Historical Reminiscences Centre Hill----- BY DR. RICHARD DILLARD	63
Old Carolina College----- BY GEN. W. A. SMITH	73
Race and Rehabilitation----- BY COLLIER COBB	83
North Carolina Troops at Gettysburg----- CHIEF JUSTICE WALTER CLARK	91
The Grave of General Francis Nash-----	109

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The North Carolina Booklet

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GOVERNOR ABNER NASH*

By FRANK NASH

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I esteem it a privilege to address an audience largely composed of descendants of men and women, whose culture gave to this town its ancient name of "The Athens of North Carolina." Indeed, in the heart of every true North Carolinian there is a tender spot for the town of New Bern—it contributed so much, and suffered so much, for the cause of liberty; it has taken so large and so efficient a part in the public life of the State from its organization to the present day, and it has lent to the service of the State so many men whose character, whose culture, whose ability have given tone and direction to its public life.

Some years ago I read a letter written in 1802 by a young gentlewoman of New Bern to a friend then absent at the north. It had the smoothness and bouquet of old wine, and was redolent of lavender and old lace. Its style suggested the graceful stateliness of the minuet, rather than the dash and sparkle of the modern two-step, though it dealt with the social news and gossip among the young people of the town. It was evident from this letter that William Gaston and Frederick Nash were considered the most eligible parties among the young gentlemen. The intuition of the young ladies was justified by the event, for one became a great American, the other, a distinguished North Carolinian, and both so long as they lived strove to live their lives truly. One of the highest compliments I can pay New Bern, is that these two men were

*Address delivered at New Bern, N. C.

born here, grew up to manhood here, and, so far as their characters were affected by their environment, these characters were the product of that environment. This is no less true of other of her great sons: the Hawkses, the Spaights, Stanly, Badger, the Bryans, Hughes and others, not to speak of her foster sons, of whom Manly was a high type.

Let us, however, turn back the pages of history for a few decades. The palace was completed in October, 1770, the Colonial Assembly convened at New Bern December 6, 1770. Governor Tryon gave a grand ball and reception at the palace some time in December. Always hedging about his office with much ceremony, he, on this occasion, assumed regal airs. He caused a dais to be erected in the ball room, on which were placed two large arm chairs under a canopy, flowing down from a center composed of the arms of England, draped with flags. Seated in these chairs, the governor in the brilliant uniform of his rank in the British Army, accompanied by his wife, scarcely less brilliantly arrayed, received their guests. These were presented by a master of ceremonies in the order of precedence—members of the council and their wives, the chief justice and his associates, the attorney-general, the treasurers of the province and the members of the assembly and their wives, and citizens of the town and their wives. These included nearly all the more prominent and wealthy inhabitants of the province. It must have been a brilliant company and a scene full of color, for the men of that period exercised the privilege of the male of the species, and were more gaudily arrayed than the women. There were onlookers, too, of the younger set—among them, probably, Richard Dobbs Spaight, then twelve years of age, and Alfred Moore, then fifteen, and we know James Iredell and Sir Nathaniel Dukenfield were there. The governor and his lady led the minuet that opened the ball. Thenceforward it was “On with the dance,” while wine flowed freely. Under its influence towards the close of the evening, a dignified member of the council “hopped a reel” very much to the amusement

of the young men who witnessed the display. This assumption of vice regal magnificence was the last of Tryon's administration. Six months later he was transferred to the government of New York. How little do men know, even the wisest of them, what coming events are upon the knees of the gods. Of the brilliant company that participated in the opening of the palace were three men, perhaps four, who in the lapse of a few years were to be governors of the free and independent State of North Carolina, while there were two witnesses of it who were to become members of the supreme court of a united confederation of free states: Richard Caswell, Abner Nash, Samuel Johnston, perhaps Richard Dobbs Spaight, and James Iredell and Alfred Moore.

Of these, Abner Nash is the subject of this address. I have come, not to eulogize an ancestor, but to pay tribute to the life and services of an ardent patriot.

About 1730 two brothers, Thomas and John Nash, leaving Tenby, Pembrokeshire, Wales, came to this country and settled, Thomas in Henrico County, and John in what was then Prince George County, Virginia, but was later Prince Edward. They were two of the sons of Abner Nash of Tenby. Both brought with them sufficient funds to establish themselves quite comfortably in Virginia. John, indeed, purchased an estate in the forks of the Bush and Appomattox rivers. On the verge of his migration he had married a young Welsh girl, named Ann Owen. Thomas died in 1736, unmarried and without issue, devising his property to his father, Abner, and to his nephew, Thomas, oldest son of John. The family itself was of Saxon origin, with probably Puritan predilections in the 17th century. There were three branches of it: the Sussex, the London, and the Irish, with the persistence of the greyhound in the arms of each of them, indicating, perhaps, a common origin. To what branch, if any, the Tenby Nashes belonged, I am unable to say. I think it quite clear that they were of the middle class, and substantial traders and manufacturers.

John Nash, in his new home, which he called Templeton Manor, won prominence and honor, filling at various times the offices of justice of the peace, high sheriff, member of the House of Burgesses, lieutenant of the county and captain in the Indian War. He was three times married, and had four sons and four daughters—all, however, by his first wife, Ann Owen.

The third son, Abner, named for his grandfather, was born at Templeton Manor about 1740. I have no data as to his early life or training, but the fragmentary record of that life after he had come to North Carolina shows that he had, for the period, considerable culture if not a liberal education. His father, John Nash, as each one of his sons became of age, gave him tracts of land in Virginia. This course he followed with Abner and his younger brother, Francis. Both these sons sold their land in Virginia and with the proceeds migrated to North Carolina, Abner in 1762, and Francis in 1763. The former entered into the active practice of the law at once. The following is an epitome of his public services: member of the Colonial Assembly from the Borough of Halifax in 1764 and 1765; member of the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1768; member of the Colonial Assembly from Halifax County in 1769, 1770 and 1771; member of the four Provincial Congresses from the Borough of New Bern; member of the Provincial Council in 1775; speaker of the first House of Commons in 1777; senator from Jones County in 1779, when on the resignation of Allen Jones he was unanimously chosen speaker; governor of the State in 1780-1781; member of the Continental Congress from 1782 until his death, December 2, 1786. An almost continuous public service, extending over a period of twenty-two years, and these years held in them agitation, revolution, state building, a long continued war, peace and rehabilitation. In all these Abner Nash bore a conspicuous part.

The outlook of the controlling element among British statesmen upon the colonies of Great Britain was at that time wholly

insular and selfish. They were mere appendages to the empire, and as such should be exploited, not with a view to their future growth and power, but for the benefit of the mother country. This policy was largely dictated by the king, a German not only by birth, but by temperament and habits of thought. He was self-willed and obstinate, naturally a tyrant, and so, restive under the restraints of English law and English traditions. As far as it was in his power, he would brook no one in office whose views as to the colonies did not accord with his own, so these ministers were only less pig-headed and obstinate than himself. At a period in which the American colonists were becoming restive under the British trade restrictions, an Englishman traveled through the colonies, and, after returning home, published a book descriptive of them and giving his impressions of their probable futures. Commercially they were to him only great store-houses of raw material for the manufactures of Great Britain. Manufacturing in the colonies should be discouraged, while the producing of raw material should be encouraged. Thus, the seas would soon be white with English shipping, bringing from the colonies raw material, and carrying back to them the manufactured product to supply their insistent wants. In the course of time both Britain and America would become rich and great; by 1920 the population of America would be 120,000,000, the seat of government would be removed from the narrow confines of the British Isles to this great and teeming country. This entrancing but extravagant vision disregarded entirely the human element in the problem—on the one side an obstinate king, with equally obstinate ministers, and on the other, a thoroughly aroused and liberty loving people, amply sufficient in themselves, and by themselves, for themselves, without the let or hindrance of any other government or any other people. It is true that independence was an after-thought to patriot leaders in America. They desired above all things security for their constitutional rights. With that security they would have

been more than glad to remain British subjects. As I have said elsewhere: "It was not timidity that caused this, but a strong disinclination to break loose from old traditions. The sanctity of their oath of allegiance, the many ties which bound them to the old country, the home of their fathers, the dangers of an untried democracy, all gave them pause until the hope of an accommodation was utterly gone." They knew that the whole future of America, its happiness, its prosperity, its peace, was involved in the course of action they should adopt at this crucial juncture of affairs. They were unwilling to launch the ship of state out upon unknown and uncharted seas, without having its hull in prime condition, its rigging taut, and every seaman in his proper place. There was no vacillation in this. Instead, a calm, cool but firm and unwavering determination to be free men as British subjects; but if this was not to be, then, as American citizens. And to secure this, they pledged their lives and their fortunes, without reserve.

Abner Nash was one of the earliest of the patriots. He was one of those proscribed by Governor Martin as a leader of sedition. He was one of the leaders in the organization of civil government during the fateful year 1775 when the people, having no other government, must govern themselves. He was no less a leader in directing, April 12, 1776, the representatives of the province in the Continental Congress to vote for independence. He was no less a leader in the organization of the new state, and in the adoption and promulgation of its Bill of Rights and Constitution. His contemporaries recognized this leadership by electing him speaker of the first House of Commons; by electing him unanimously speaker of the Senate in 1779, when that speakership was in immediate succession to the governorship, and by electing him governor in April 1780 by a large majority. Upon being elected governor, "he at once" (says Dr. Hamilton in his address presenting Nash's portrait to the State) "entered upon his duties and displayed great energy and activity in the military preparations, which,

at that time, occupied most of the attention of the executive. Stores were collected, arms and ammunition gathered, and, not least in the estimation of the army, many wagons loaded with spirits were sent to the troops. So, when General Gates finally came south, the army was amply supplied, almost entirely by North Carolina. Need there was of activity, for the State was sorely stricken by the fall of Charleston and the loss of six battalions of veterans, besides the 1,000 militia there surrendered. North Carolina was apparently open to the advance of the British, but their delay gave much needed time." Then came Camden, August 16, 1780, where defeat became a rout and the rout a wild scamper, arms and baggage all thrown away, each man caring only for his own safety, and stopping not in the wild race until he had reached his home. This rush of fugitives across the State was calculated to demoralize all classes of its citizens. Instead, it made them only more determined to repair damages and to meet the coming invasion with the whole power of the State. In the presence of such difficulties—loss of guns, loss of prestige, loss of confidence, loss of supplies, with a second army in the same year to be organized and fed and clothed and armed, in the very face of a victorious and invading external foe, and among an exultant and alert internal foe, the most dauntless courage and determined energy might well be appalled. The burden of his office in those trying times pressed heavily upon the shoulders of Governor Nash. His health was bad, his location in the eastern part of the State inconvenient and his constitutional advisers, the Council, could not be gotten together. He then asked the Assembly which convened at Hillsboro on September 5, 1780 to create a board of war, and to endow it with plenary powers to coöperate with him in the conduct of the war. The Assembly acted upon the suggestion and appointed the board of war, but it proved a Frankenstein to the governor. The situation became unbearable to him, a man of proud spirit. He wrote to Burke that the executive power had been so divided and sub-divided that, like the rays of the sun, it had lost its force and "men

not knowing whom to obey, obeyed nobody." So, when the Assembly again convened the last of January, 1781, he at once laid the matter before it and declared his determination to resign immediately unless a change was made. His protest was dignified and conclusive and the change was made. His term was extended until June, 1781. At that time he was nominated to succeed himself, but at his request his name was withdrawn. His health was ruined and his fortune much impaired, and it was necessary for him to withdraw, at least temporarily, from the arduous labors of public life, that he might repair both. His health was never restored, for he died five years later, in New York, while in attendance on the Continental Congress—Dr. McRee says, of consumption. As said before, he was elected to this body in 1782, and seems to have attended faithfully on this election. When elected in 1784, for some reason he did not attend, and his estate afterwards returned to the State of North Carolina money advanced to him to pay his expenses to this Congress. This probably caused him to be dropped from the delegation in the spring of 1785, but in December of that year he was elected for the fourth time, and died in attendance in New York City December 2, 1786. Said Dr. Hamilton, "Thus ended his distinguished legislative career. Had he lived, he would, almost certainly, have been one of the framers of the Constitution, and have added one more to his already numerous honors, for North Carolina regarded him as one of her most valuable public men. Harnett classed him with Burke and Johnston; and Blount deplored the loss to the State, by death, of so valuable a member."

As a lawyer, he stood very high and had a great and successful practice, both in the province and in the State. He attended the judges in their progress twice a year to the various superior courts, and also practiced largely in the county courts. Going from court to court on horse-back, with one's wardrobe and library carried in saddle bags, and in all kinds of weather, must have been exceedingly laborious, and a tax upon one's strength. There were, however, compensations. Each period

has its own standard of morals for things not essentially evil in themselves. The moral standard of the 18th Amendment is certainly not that of the 18th century. The lawyers of the latter period as a class were delightful companions, "genial, easy of manner, luxurious in taste and habit, convivial, and somewhat given to extravagance." To be with, and of, them, traveling about the province or the State, had its peculiar delights.

Governor Nash was twice married; first to Justina Dobbs, nee Davis, the young widow of Governor Arthur Dobbs; and second, in 1774, to Mary Jones, daughter of Mary Whiting of New Haven, Connecticut, by Harding Jones. Mary Whiting was a lineal descendant of Governor William Bradford of Plymouth Colony, while Harding Jones was a grandson of Frederick Jones, a large landowner and one of the early chief justices of the colony. Governor Nash left surviving him children of the first marriage: Abner, Margaret—intermarried with Haslin—and Justina; of the second marriage: Frederick, Elizabeth, Maria and Frances.

In concluding this inadequate sketch of Governor Nash, I cannot do better than to quote Dr. Hamilton again: "It is a sad commentary upon the state pride of our ancestors that scarcely any material remains from which to show Governor Nash's thought and character. That he was no ordinary man is sufficiently attested not only by his public career, but by the attitude of his contemporaries. The distinguished honors paid his memory in New York upon the occasion of his death, point clearly to a national reputation, for behind his body on its way to its temporary resting place in St. Paul's church-yard came Congress in a body, foreign representatives, both diplomatic and consular, the supreme court and governor of New York, the national officers, civil and military; the mayor of the city, the faculty of the university, and a large concourse of citizens of every rank. Shall we today do him less honor? God forbid that the prophets of our greatness should remain without honor in their own country."

A TURNING POINT IN THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE

The Legislation of 1848

A Chapter from the forthcoming 2d Volume of ASHE'S HISTORY OF
of North Carolina.

There was opposition at the North to the acquirement of any territory from Mexico, as well as the annexation of Texas, because it would extend slavery territory. There were not only Birney Abolitionists, but Free-Soilers, many of the latter being Democrats.

In 1846, David Wilmot, a Democratic Representative from Pennsylvania, offered as a proviso to a bill then pending in the House of Representatives with respect to territory that might be acquired from Mexico—"Provided, that slavery should be excluded from any territory so acquired"—The House accepted the proviso, but the Senate rejected it. It, however, formulated to a large extent Northern thought, and, as it would be a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, slavery now more than ever was a subject of agitation.

While many Democrats at the North espoused the anti-slavery side and Van Buren became the leader of the Free-Soilers yet the drift from the Whig party was much stronger. Among the Whigs in the State, there had long existed a cleavage, and now some became more impressed with the abolition tendencies of the North than others.

As Graham could not be re-elected Governor, the Whig Convention at first had presented to it many aspirants. It decided to take Charles Manly—a brother-in-law of Governor Dudley and of Senator Haywood, a man of erudition and of agreeable manners, who for a quarter of a century had been associated with the members of the assembly as Clerk of one house or the other. The convention denounced Polk's administration and particularly the war with Mexico, and extolled Clay's poli-

cies, and finally endorsed the military heroes, Taylor and Scott, and Clay as their favorites for the Presidency. On the 22d of February, the day the convention met, the treaty of peace with Mexico was ratified by the senate. Mangum voted for the ratification; Badger against it, along with some Northern senators.

Nearly two months later the Democrats held their convention. While the outlook for success seemed doubtful, there were several whose names were suggested by their respective county conventions; but at length the name of David S. Reid was brought before the convention and accepted. Mr. Reid had been in the State Senate and had served two terms in Congress, but by the "Rayner-Mander," was cut out. He was at his home in Caswell, and, when notified, wrote a letter declining the nomination. At once a messenger was sent asking him to come to Raleigh. He came and declared that he would make the race only on condition that he might advocate a change in the State Constitution annulling the provision limiting voters for State senators to freeholders. He proposed "free suffrage" as to both houses. Holden, the editor, and some of the other leaders assented; although there was no authority by the convention for such a position. On that basis, Reid accepted and entered on the campaign. When at their first meeting, he sprang that issue on his competitor, Manly, the Whigs were dumbfounded. There was some difference of opinion, but Manly and his party accepted the issue. While Reid was neither an eloquent orator nor a brilliant man, he had profound sagacity and was adept in addressing his audiences; and his integrity, purity and personal characteristics ranked him high in the regard and esteem of those who knew him.

At the election, Manly polled about the usual Whig strength, but the Democrat rallied several thousand new voters to their aid, and came near electing Reid. Indeed, a change of 450 votes would have secured him the prize, his support being 6,000 more than Shepard's two years before. In the Senate,

and in the House as well, the parties were tied, the Democrats having secured ten more votes in the House than at the previous election. This close result in August now increased the interest in the Presidential election.

In the Democratic National Convention held on May 7th, the North Carolina delegation presented James I. McKay for the Vice-Presidency and at first voted for James Buchanan for President—but, later, for Lewis Cass of Michigan, who was nominated along with William O. Butler of Kentucky for Vice-President, a hero of the war of 1812, and of the Mexican war, also.

Governor Morehead presided over the Whig National Convention, held in Philadelphia on 7th of June. There was great enthusiasm. Governor Morehead was for Clay, but the delegation gave a majority to Taylor who on the 4th ballot was nominated over Clay, Scott and Webster. The South and West nominated him. Fillmore of New York was nominated for Vice-President. Taylor owned a plantation in Louisiana, and was a slaveholder. The South gave him eight more electoral votes than it gave to Cass. The result was: Taylor, 1,360,010 popular votes and 163 electoral votes in 15 states; Cass, 1,220,544 popular votes and 127 electoral votes in 15 states; Van Buren, Free Soil, received 290,263 popular votes. Pennsylvania gave her 26 votes to Taylor, and elected him.

NEW CONDITIONS

When the Assembly met in November, conditions had brought forward new problems. Eight years had elapsed since the completion of the two railroads, and although new roads were prospected, no further effort had been made to provide similar transportation facilities. In some other States where extravagant hopes had led to great endeavors the results had not been answerable to the expectations, and financial distress had followed. Here the promoters of the Weldon and Raleigh road rejoiced that they had been led to go direct to Weldon, and, with their steamboats, had a through line from the South

to the North. Starting in 1841, their operations had resulted for that year in transporting 9,782 through passengers, and 5,498 way passengers—the receipts being \$291,298 and the expenditures \$241,948. By 1848, the through passengers were 11,458 and way, 28,327. The receipts being \$317,459 and expenditures \$275,928. The company needed money to substitute for the light bar iron rail a heavier and more permanent rail, and it had sold bonds bearing five per cent interest in England to the amount of \$222,666. The first improved rail was in the shape of a "U," but soon the T rail, weighing 52 pounds to the yard, was introduced. But even on that road, President McRae, in his report said: "We have been straightened for money to transport all the freight offering;" and it was said that the authorities urged the inhabitants having access to the North East Cape Fear River to resort to the river, as in previous times, saying that they "did not want to wear out their road hauling such heavy freight—tar, turpentine, rosin," etc.

The real estate along the line of that road was valued in 1847 at about two million dollars more than when the road was opened. The cost of new iron for the entire line would be about \$600,000, being \$4,000 a mile. The entire number of employees—including shops and steamboats, was 458, of whom half were negro laborers.

The situation of the Raleigh & Gaston railroad had gone from bad to worse. In February, 1848, a destructive fire at Raleigh had destroyed all the machine shops and had injured five engines, destroying one entirely, and four partially. Some little new iron had been obtained, and for ten miles from Gaston the road was in good condition—but on the rest of the line, "the flat iron was much broken, and there was a great waste of labor in temporarily refitting the fragments, that were soon broken again." And, indeed, it was said that there were four miles on which there was no iron at all. The bridge between Gaston and Blakeley, moreover, was in bad condition,

and the road needed money at once. While the receipts were about equal to the ordinary working expenditures, with no southern connection there was no hope of any increase in earnings.

The Portsmouth and Weldon road had failed and was not running; later, it was restored and put in operation. The Roanoke Navigation Company, with a capital of \$395,000, was making dividends on the tolls on produce brought down the river, and their improvements were all substantially completed.

The Cape Fear Transportation Company had spent \$61,218 in improving the river below Fayetteville, and steamboats were plying regularly. They had spent \$60,000 on the canal at Fayetteville, and \$41,000 on the Buckhorn Canal at Haywood, and \$13,000 on the river above Fayetteville. The great project had been to establish water transportation from Fayetteville high up Deep River. A civil engineer (Colonel) Thompson, employed by Walter Gwynn, the general adviser of the Board of Navigation, now made an elaborate report, describing the locks, dams, canals, etc., that were to be constructed from Fayetteville up the Deep River to within 33 miles of the Yadkin. In it, he said: "Upon Deep River, 12 miles above its confluence with the Haw, we first come upon the bituminous coal deposits, which extends on both sides of that river for some fifteen miles, above—and forms one vast coal basin. At some points the borings have been continued some twenty feet without finding the thickness of the bed." "Hematite iron ore is also found upon the banks of Deep River, soapstone, and, also a substance very much resembling black lead." The engineer suggested the use of such steam-boats as were running on the Neuse, very light draft.

On the Neuse, but little progress had been made in clearing out the river; but Captain Dibble had a steamboat on it "100 feet long by 17 feet wide, the paddle being at the stern, and drawing when light but 18 inches," and two years later the Dibble Steamboat Company was chartered. On the Tar, and

up the Roanoke, there was at least one steamboat—the *Oregon*, employed by an enterprising merchant, W. H. Willard, in his business, which attained great proportions—he largely supplying Charleston with corn produced in the great granary of the Eastern counties. In the interest of commerce, there was agitation for clearing out the Oregon inlet and other improvements of the great sound.

Plank roads were now coming into use. Two were projected from Wilmington through the deep sandy country of that region; and one from Fayetteville across the sands to the west, and there was, as ever, talk of a turnpike from Raleigh westward; and of one from Salisbury to the Georgia line.

There was under construction a railroad from Charlotte to Columbia, where it would connect with the South Carolina road that had been built to Charleston and other points at the south. In Virginia, a road from Richmond to Danville was being built; and its promoters, like the South Carolina capitalists, were desirous of effecting communication between these lines. That project led to a proposition to build a road from Charlotte to Danville, which found ardent favor along the proposed line. Governor Morehead at Greensboro, Rufus Barringer at Concord and John W. Ellis at Salisbury but voiced the feeling of the western and middle counties in urging such a road.

The West had ever been so cut off from the East by natural obstacles, forbidding transportation, that practically all the western trade was either with Virginia or South Carolina; and the situation was, indeed, such that at times some of the Western people desired to form a separate state.

While these projects were discussed, a new subject was also in the public mind—the care of the insane—the construction of an asylum, where those who were bereft of their reason could be treated with humanity and decency, instead of being confined in jails, often in irons, and in the county poorhouses, or locked up on the premises of their kinspeople.

THE ASSEMBLY

The personnel of the Assembly was superior. Among the Senators were W. N. H. Smith, Joyner, Speight, Murchison, Geo. W. Thompson, Hawkins, John M. Worth, John A. Gilmer, Patterson, Woodfin, Thomas, W. S. Ashe and Calvin Graves; and in the House were Stanly, Thomas McDowell, Tod Caldwell, Rufus Barringer, Ferebee, Col. Paine, James Leach, Clement, Gilliam, D. F. Caldwell, Richard H. Smith, Raymer, Wooten, S. J. Person, Giles Mebane, John W. Ellis and J. C. Dobbin. It was, indeed, a veritable assembly of wise and patriotic men, devoted to their people and State. Many were either then distinguished, or afterwards attained high distinction.

Among those playing particular parts at this session were: Rufus Barringer, later the famous cavalry leader in the great war; Stanly, long practised in public affairs, and a Whig leader, devoted to the interests of the commonwealth; Gilmer and Woodfin, both Whigs, men of great mould and lofty character; Gilliam, courteous, admired, and learned; Calvin Graves, a strong man, firm in his democracy, but firmer in his patriotism; Ashe and Dobbin—friends from boyhood—Dobbin, delicate, cultured and refined and of such purity as to equal, at least, the venerated Gaston; Ashe, a student, but robust, jovial and a manager of men in accomplishing results. Both were followers of Jefferson in the school of States Rights; but discarded the negative philosophy of their Democratic associates and advocated State participation in enterprises that tended to prosperity and development.

There being a tie in each house, the Whigs insisted that the assemblymen should have regard to the voice of the people; and that as the people had elected a Whig Governor, and had given Taylor in November more than 8,000 majority, therefore, in the unusual situation, the Whigs were entitled to the organization. In the House, they presented Robert B. Gilliam as their candidate for Speaker, and the Democrats offered

James C. Dobbin of Fayetteville. On the first and second days there was no choice; and on the morning of the third day, Mr. Dobbin withdrew his name and Gilliam received twenty-two Democratic votes, and was elected.

In the Senate, where W. S. Ashe of New Hanover seems to have been the most active among the Democrats, the situation was not so easily clarified. Ashe presented Calvin Graves for Speaker, and the Whigs, Andrew Joyner. There was no election.

At length, on the afternoon of the 4th day, Senator Patterson offered some resolutions that the organization could not be effected without conciliation and concession, and that the Speaker be given to the Democratic party, but that the present clerks be retained. The Senate by a vote agreed to that 25 to 21, and Calvin Graves was elected, 17 Whigs voting for him.

Governor Graham now transmitted his message. Like his former one it was largely devoted to State affairs. He mentioned that under the act of 1846, two millions of acres had been added to the land listed for taxation, and the valuation of the land and town lots had risen to sixty-six million dollars, being an increase of eleven millions. While the buildings for the education of the Deaf and Blind were then in process of construction, the school for the deaf mutes was in progress with 25 pupils. The money distributed for public schools in 1847 was over \$101,000—but many of the counties had not levied the tax for their one-half to be contributed by them. He suggested that the delinquent counties should be required to levy the tax. Also he repeated his recommendation for a Commissioner of the Public Schools. In compliance with one of his suggestions the General Assembly passed a resolution requesting future Governors to recommend a day of Thanksgiving.

Judge Daniel having died, Governor Graham had appointed William H. Battle to that vacancy, and Augustus Moore to the Superior Court bench to succeed Judge Battle; and Edward Stanly having resigned as Attorney-General, he had appointed B. F. Moore to that position.

TRANSPORTATION

The Governor urged the Assembly "to abandon further hesitation and adopt at once a programme of improvement commensurate with the wants and interests of the State."

In regard to the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad, he went fully into every detail, and urged measures to make that road profitable by extending it to Charlotte, the State subscribing to a new corporation—the North Carolina Railroad Company, that would take it over. He mentioned his proposed North Carolina railroad "as the ground work of an extensive plan," embracing, in the future, a road for Raleigh to Fayetteville; and another to Goldsboro; and even one from Beaufort to Goldsboro. He recommended that the Legislature should contribute "one-half, or at least two-fifths, of the necessary capital;" and he thought that it presented an opportunity for disposing of the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad.

Incidentally, the Governor mentioned that the Wilmington & Raleigh Railroad was now on a paying basis; and that some enterprising citizens had commenced the navigation of the Neuse and Tar with steamboats. Later, on December 4th, at the request of the Senate, he developed his plan of building the road from Charlotte to Raleigh, the State subscribing one-half the capital stock, and in part payment turning over to the new company the Raleigh & Gaston Railroad at \$500,000. As all of Governor Graham's State papers were, this message was an illustration of his fine intelligence, high capacity and patriotism.

Partyism: Necessarily there was the usual political clashing. One of the first matters of partisan import was the election of a successor to Senator Badger. The parties being evenly divided, the Democrats realized that they could not elect one of themselves, and made no caucus nomination and voted scatteringly; while the Whigs adhered to Badger. As soon as the Senate was organized, a proposition to go into the election was made, but unavailingly until December 19. On

the first ballot Badger polled the full strength of his party, but no Democrat received a vote indicating party preference—merely individual compliment.

In Congress, the Free Soil advocates had been very aggressive, and the proposed "Wilmot proviso" gave point to the slavery controversy. This reopening of the slavery question and the attitude of many Whigs at the North in regard to it had its effect on Southern thought and action. Among those who now regarded the situation with anxiety was Thomas L. Clingman, the Whig Representative from the Buncombe District. His position was such that several Democrats of his District in the Assembly, and Ashe from New Hanover voted for him for Senator, hoping that some Whigs might join them in electing him, while they disapproved of some of Senator Badger's votes in the Senate. At length Badger received 83 votes, a majority; Clingman 67, other democratic votes scattering.

THE SLAVERY RESOLUTION

But the Assembly was not content to be silent on the slavery agitation.

Resolutions were offered in the Senate to the effect that the States were equal; that the Constitution recognized the existence of slavery in the States, and Congress had no right to interfere with it or to ignore the right of any citizen of a State to remove himself and slaves into a territory; but that North Carolina was willing for the Missouri Compromise to be observed, and that slavery was not to be extended into the territory north of the line fixed by that compromise. Those resolutions were adopted unanimously in the Senate, and by 57 to 30 in the House.

THE JUDGES

The election for a Supreme Court Judge came on. Battle having been appointed to succeed Judge Daniel doubtless would have been retained, but he lived in Orange County "where

there were already three Judges, a Senator and Governor.” The contest was between Pearson and Strange, and after many ballots the former was successful. To supply the place of Pearson on the Superior Court bench, John W. Ellis was elected, and to succeed Augustus Moore, who had been appointed temporarily by the Governor, Battle was elected—who, then, after filling the temporary vacancy on the Supreme Court, returned to his position on the Superior Court.

WADDELL v. BERRY

There was a noted contested election case in the Senate. At the August election, the sheriff of Orange County had awarded the certificate to Hugh Waddell—but Mr. Waddell resigned; and at a second election the same candidates were voted for. Then Berry got the certificate—but Waddell contested the election. Numerous legal questions arose, some of which were referred to the Supreme Court, and were considered and answered at great length by Chief Justice Ruffin, for the Court. Eventually the Senate sustained Berry.

~The points made in the case doubtless had effect in creating a sentiment favorable to abolishing the free hold qualification in electing Senators.

FREE SUFFRAGE

Indeed the campaign made by David S. Reid in favor of “free suffrage,” was resumed in the assembly. Two bills were introduced, one to call a convention to amend the constitution in that respect; and the other to submit the question to the voters—asking for the election of a three-fifths majority in the next assembly. While neither of these bills passed, yet they precipitated long and heated discussions that tended to strengthen those in favor of the measure, and the Democratic party gained prestige.

LEGISLATION

There were a multitude of projects brought to the attention of the assembly, some being of particular interest, and progress was shown in various lines.

The counties of Alamance and Watauga were established. An act was passed making the wife's consent necessary for the sale or lease of her maiden property by her husband during the period of his life; nor could it be sold for the husband's debts—a great step forward from the ancient law, and offering protection to the wives and children of the State. A female college in Anson was incorporated, and the Chowan Female Institute, along with thirteen other academies, and a loan was made to the Greensboro Female College. Another Mutual Insurance Company was incorporated, as were the Cape Fear Steamboat Company, and the Wilmington Thalian Association, an organization of many of the men of culture of that town, whose association developed fine histrionic talent and contributed much to the benefit of the community until suspended by the Civil War. Three manufacturing, mining, and smelting companies were chartered, among them that of the Deep River Company.

Needed aid was given to the Wilmington & Raleigh Railroad and small appropriations for clearing out Neuse and Deep rivers and for similar purposes.

County Superintendents of Education were now provided for, and the Superintendents of the several counties were required to make reports of statistics to the Literary Board, paving the way for the adoption of the deferred proposition to have a State Superintendent.

On the first of January, Governor Manly was inaugurated—kindly, gracious and patriotic, fully acquainted with State affairs, and well equipped and able—replacing Governor Graham, whose administration, admirable in all things, likewise is memorable for the innovation of raising the flag over the capitol, and for the day of State Thanksgiving. Years

were to elapse before there was a day of National Thanksgiving.

DOBBIN'S SPEECH

To James C. Dobbin has been accorded the praise of being at this session the greatest benefactor of the State. A thousand insane persons were in the jails and poorhouses of the counties, and every effort for their relief had proved unavailing.

Miss Dorothea Dix of Boston, who had long been devoted in her efforts to have the insane of this country properly cared for, had made an examination of the jails of the State and now was urging the legislature to construct an asylum. She prepared a pamphlet of some 50 pages which was laid before the assembly, and for which she received the thanks of that body. But the opposition to any appropriation rendered her efforts apparently unavailing, until at length Mr. Dobbin made an appeal that touched the souls of men and awakened the consciences of the people. From that time onward repugnance to the State's doing its duty in the matter of expenditures faded away. A new leaf was turned in the history of the State. In the early days of the session Miss Dix was utterly discomfitted by the attitude of the Democrats in regard to incurring debt; but Mrs. Dobbin was very ill at the Mansion House, and Miss Dix was so sympathetic with the invalid, that Mrs. Dobbin just before her death, asked her husband to assist the philanthropist. Mr. R. D. W. Conner in his sketch of Mr. Dobbin, mentions "Mrs. Dobbin died December 18th. On December 22d, Mr. Dobbin returned to his seat in the House, and moved a reconsideration of the asylum bill, and offered an amendment which seemed to solve the problem of raising funds. This amendment he supported in a powerful speech, traditions of which linger to this day."

"It seemed as if he himself felt the misery of those throughout the State, who are deprived of God's noblest gift, as he pleaded their cause, with great eloquence, losing sight of himself

in his manly appeal for them. He seemed not to realize that he was effecting anything until he became conscious of the deathlike stillness in the room, and beheld tears falling from the eyes of the Speaker of the House.

"One of his strongest partisan opponents said of his effort: 'The speech of Mr. Dobbin in favor of the bill, on Friday morning last, was one of the most touchingly beautiful efforts that we have ever heard. Its noble and eloquent conception, impressive delivery, and the circumstances which prompted and attended it, all combined to render it truly worthy of the occasion. He won a great triumph. The bill passed by a vote of ten to one, and ample appropriations were made. The magnificent hospital for the insane at Raleigh is a monument no less to the eloquence of James C. Dobbin than to the disinterested philanthropy of Dorothea Dix.' No greater service was ever rendered to North Carolina than the service of Dorothea Dix and James C. Dobbin. If Mr. Dobbin had never contributed anything else to the happiness and honor of the State, this alone would entitle him to the eternal gratitude of her people."

When the site of the institution was selected it was named Dix Hill in commemoration of Miss Dix's great public service.

TRANSPORTATION MEASURES

The railroad situation had given great concern. It happened that four or five measures before the Assembly brought a solution that proved to be eminently satisfactory to the State and most beneficial in removing sectionalism and unifying State interests, and harmonizing differences. Almost immediately on the opening of the session, John W. Ellis had introduced in the House the bill to incorporate the Charlotte and Danville Company, asking no State aid. It was referred and reported favorably. In conformity with Governor Graham's recommendations, primarily, to rescue the State's property, the Raleigh and Gaston Road, from its financial embarrass-

ments and make it the foundation stone of a through State system, a bill to that end had been introduced in the House. Mr. Dobbin had introduced a bill to incorporate a plank road from Fayetteville to Salisbury, with branches, but not asking State aid; and a measure for the State to construct at its own expense a turnpike from Salisbury to the mountains, and then down to the Georgia line, was also before the Assembly.

General Barringer in a notable account of this Assembly says—as to Governor Graham's railroad project—"It was pointedly objected that the first and immediate effect of such a line would only be to build up towns and cities out of the State, with the mere chance of an Eastern extension, therefore, that met with no approval."

Similarly, the Charlotte and Danville proposition was not received with favor. "The most determined, ever-ready, outspoken opponent of the Danville connection was the Hon. Edward Stanly of the extreme East. No railroad was ever likely to reach his home; and he had no scheme to embarrass him. He stood forth as a bold and really honest advocate of any really good North Carolina system that would likely build up our State." But, "he boldly avowed his purpose to fight in every conceivable way what he called 'The Danville Sale.'" But he would often say that "the friends of this South Carolina and Virginia *bondage* were not to blame, so long as the North Carolina Assembly failed to give our people a real North Carolina system."

"Governor Graham's plan had no strength, but there was a general demand for an advance movement." At last—"Mr. Ashe, the Democratic Senator from New Hanover, was urged to formulate a plan." "His bill was a plain business scheme—the beginning of a sort of North Carolina system—calling for two millions of State money to build a road from Goldsboro to Charlotte—provided one million of stock was otherwise taken." "But the great appropriation staggered the members. No one attempted to lead off for the Ashe bill."

Mr. Ellis having resigned to accept a judgeship, General Barringer took charge of the Danville bill and got it up as the session was closing, on January 15. "Mr. Stanly was baffling every effort to get a vote. I chanced to get the floor and resolved to hold it till a vote was reached. Mr. Stanly interfered with his regular statements about selling out to Virginia and South Carolina, and referred to Richmond as only "a great slave mart," and to Charleston as surviving only on past pretensions." This, I resented; and defied him to make us an offer of any bill providing for a general North Carolina system. This was received with applause from the House. In a highly dramatic scene, Stanly then sprang to his feet and holding up the Ashe bill said he would pledge himself and friends to that bill if I would do the same. I assented." The House now was all excitement.

Mr. Thomas Williams of New Hanover, Senator Ashe's colleague in the House—"suggested that the Danville bill be laid on the table, and then that the Graham "N. C. R. R. bill be taken up, so that the Ashe senate bill might be offered for a substitute." That being done—General Barringer moved "to strike out all after the enacting clause" and substitute the Ashe bill. Then on motion of Mr. Williams the bill was made the special order for the next day. When the bill was reached the next day, the Ashe substitute was amended, by consent, by inserting five sections from the Graham bill relating to the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad Company. At length on January 17, at the evening session, the bill was again before the House; and it failed to pass the second reading, the vote being 49 to 56—there being so many absentees that a call of the House was ordered; and there was great excitement and interest. A motion to reconsider having been made, the bill passed its second reading 60 to 49. "Now came another scramble for amendments, some to make the bill more acceptable in certain particulars, others to get in local improvements, and still others to so load it down with State aid as to defeat it, either here or in the Senate."

The next day, January 18, was one of great interest in the House. Intense excitement prevailed. The N. C. R. R. bill came up at the early session. Among the proposed amendments was one to clean out the Yadkin River; one to remove the shoals from Oregon Inlet; to connect the Raleigh & Gaston road with the Seaboard road; and one with a triple aspect, all touching the Cape Fear River, one proposition being to have the line run from Goldsboro to the Cape Fear River and then to Salisbury—with a branch line to Raleigh; another being for a canal and turnpike through Dismal Swamp; another to clean out Lumber River, and still another to open Nag Head's Inlet. At last the bill passed its third reading 60 to 53.

Following that, Mr. Dobbin took up the Fayetteville and Western Plank Road bill—in which there was no provision for State aid. He now offered a new section providing for State aid; but it was defeated 48 to 57—Messrs. Williams, Barringer and Stanly voting in the affirmative. At the final session of that day, however, the bill for making a turnpike from Salisbury west to the line of the State of Georgia, at the cost of the State, passed its third reading. Senator Woodfin was happy. The only failure to give State aid to important transportation facilities was the defeat of Mr. Dobbin's amendment to the Plank Road bill.

"The chances in the Senate for the N. C. R. R. bill were all in doubt." The Democratic Senators "were hard to lead and could not be driven," and then "some of the Whigs stood aloof." Every Senator on the floor from Person County to Ashe was opposed, as had been the members in the Commons from those counties. The Virginia connection may have been deemed of greater importance, but they were also opposed to State aid. Calvin Graves, the Speaker, was silent amid the conflicting interests; for the supporters of the Charlotte and Danville road were still hopeful of it in the Senate. Judge Saunders and others made strong appeals for the North Carolina road, but all to no purpose. The passage of the bill seemed to lack the necessary votes.

On the evening of the 19th of January, the engrossed N. C. R. R. bill came to the Senate, and had its first reading, and the next evening, Saturday, on motion of Mr. Thomas of Davidson, it passed its second reading, 22 to 19, among those in the negative being Senator Murchison of Cumberland County.

Early on Monday the 22d, Mr. Dobbin in the House had the Plank Road bill made the special order for next morning. When taken up, Mr. Williams of New Hanover moved to insert five sections, providing for State aid for the Plank Road, and the amendment was adopted 45 to 44, and the bill passed.

The railroad bill seemed to wait on that. State aid to the Plank Road was a prerequisite. On the morning of the 24th when the Fayetteville bill came to the Senate, Mr. Murchison called it up and it passed its second reading 22 to 20; and on the morning of the 25th, Mr. Ashe called it up for third reading and it passed 22 to 19, and immediately thereafter, Senator Woodfin of Buncombe called up the Railroad bill. Several proposed amendments were disposed of. "The Senate chamber was packed with visitors and strangers from all quarters to see the fate of the momentous struggle, now so full of weal or woe to the dear Old North State. And which might settle here, once for all, the mighty effort to awake North Carolina from the long sleep of her death-like Rip-Van-Winkleism."

Speaker Graves calmly announced—The bill is now upon its third reading. The roll call began; and as feared nearly every Democrat voted "no."

The opposition now polled its full strength. Every pressure was exerted against State aid by the opposition leaders. The measure lost two of those who had supported it on the second reading. In the House, D. F. Caldwell of Greensboro had voted for it—but the other two representatives of Guilford were against it. In the Senate John A. Gilmer was openly for it, although Governor Morehead, not a member, still clung to his first love, the Danville connection, which, however failed in both branches of the Assembly, not only to

his disappointment but to that of many residents of Caswell, Rockingham and other counties trading with Virginia. But while there was a defection of two former supporters, now that the Fayetteville Plank Road bill was passed with its State aid, Senator Murchison was satisfied, and he voted for the measure; also, Rowland of Robeson was now in his seat, and he voted for it.

"The tally was kept by hundreds. When the clerk announced twenty-two yeas and twenty-two nays, there was an awful silence. The slender form of Speaker Graves stood up, and leaning slightly forward with gavel in hand, he said: The vote on the bill being equal, 22 yeas and 22 nays, the Chair votes yea. The bill has passed its third and last reading."

The intense anxiety of the occasion now found expression. The plaudits were deafening, and the session of the Senate was broken up without adjourning. But while there was tumultuous joy on one side—there was sullen disappointment and un-suppressed murmurs of disapproval by that half of the Senate who had met defeat.

The chamber and corridors were however packed with men bent on progress; and says General Barringer: "I have seen and read of many memorable and famous contests and have witnesed many outbreaks of popular applause, but never anything like that that then followed. Even the granite capitol seemed to shake for joy." And presently, the bells of the city rang out proclaiming the glad tidings; and the news was hastened in every possible way to every nook and corner of the old Commonwealth and the one phrase was: "Speaker Graves has saved the State—The Railroad bill has passed."

Governor Morehead, although at first smarting under his discomfiture, and the refusal of the legislature to allow him and his people their much desired Danville charter, later, in a report to the legislature, said: "The passage of the act under which the N. C. R. R. Co. is organized was the dawning of hope in North Carolina; the securing its charter was the rising sun

of that hope; the completion of the road will be the meridian glory of that hope, pregnant with results that none living can divine." Its benefits to the State have, indeed, been incalculable.

HENRY McCULLOUGH AND HIS IRISH SETTLEMENT

BY V. FAISON WILLIAMS

Probably no man did more toward the early development of North Carolina, to receive as little attention by historians of the State, as did Henry McCullough, of London. Mention of his untiring efforts in different phases of Colonial activity in the Province of North Carolina is frequent through the colonial records, especially in Volumes 4 and 5.

The deeds of this enterprising man might be so extended as to cover volumes.

The origin of McCullough was, as his name implies, Scottish. The McCulloughs from whom Henry McCullough sprung were an old family, their line running back to 1316, at which time the founder of the McCullough tree or clan performed many brave deeds on the field of battle, and was knighted, made Standard Bearer and Secretary of State by his king. The long centuries which had elapsed between the lives of the founder and the subject of this sketch had caused the House of McCullough to change its fortune. The broad acres of the first Laird of Myrton had, through the ages, become infested with debt until the end of the Seventeenth Century, when the family, no longer able to maintain its title and landed estate, scattered into Ireland and England to seek anew their fortunes.

It was in the Scottish Colony of Ireland that Henry McCullough was born. Little is known of his youth. The first official notice we have of him is in London, where he had become prominent as an enterprising and influential merchant. His letters to his nephew in Ireland, which have been preserved, disclose him to have been a man of the world, of business and society. We find him enjoying the society of the Lords of Trade and the confidence of the King.

The condition of Ireland, the inhuman treatment by the English Government of the Scotch-Irish people, whose blood he shared, caused him concern. Descendants of the Scotch Colonists, who in the Seventeenth Century had been encouraged to settle in the northern part of Ireland, were now receiving the same treatment as the Catholic Irish themselves were submitting to. By virtue of the Navigation Acts, they were denied the right to export cattle into England. In order that the English woolen trade might be protected from Irish competition, the English Parliament forbade the exportation of woolens from Ireland. Irish ships, forced to fly the English Flag, were yet treated as foreign ships. All Ireland was under the hand of the High Church Regime and the Presbyterians, who comprised the Scotch element of that mal-treated island, were actually fined by officers of the English Government for being married by Presbyterian Ministers. The historical records of that time show that freedom of thought or worship was considered a crime and that Presbyterian schoolmasters were often imprisoned. The discontent of the Scotch-Irish, who had been accustomed to freedom in every way, was too great to bear. Change had to come! If not of Government, then certainly of residence and country.

McCullough's mind was receptive and active. He took in the situation and condition of the times. Here was a suffering people—his friends and connections—all clamoring for new conditions, a new country and environment. Not only was their political freedom utterly destroyed, but also the economic and religious freedom was greatly handicapped.

It was natural that Henry McCullough, an Ulsterite himself, who had made good in influential circles in London, should feel an interest in, and a solicitude for his oppressed kinsman in Ulster, Ireland. But what could be done? The new land of America with its absolute freedom, virgin forest and fertile soil loomed large. If the old Regime, under which the Protestant Scotch-Irish suffered, could not be altered, then emigration to America should be the order of the day.

First, lands in America had to be obtained and a good title secured, the cost of transportation arranged for, and numerous other important steps, attendant upon emigration, taken. In order to secure the necessary grant of land in America for the Colony, our enterprising McCullough got into communication with Mr. Dobbs and some other gentlemen of distinction in Ireland, and with the concerted effort of those men and Gabriel Johnston, Governor of North Carolina at the time and the kinsman of McCullough; and William Houston, a petition was sent to King George II, praying a grant of land in the Province of North Carolina. At this early day, America was still a vast wilderness, only here and there dotted with small scattered settlements.

The petition mentioned was complied with by a grant for over 70,000 acres of land. This grant was on condition that the grantees were to pay all the cost of surveying the land. No quit-rents were to be charged for ten years. At the end of this period, McCullough and his associates were to receive two hundred acres for each immigrant settled by them on the tract granted. Such portions of the land not settled by them on the tract granted by this time were to revert to the Crown. Seeing on what easy terms the virgin soil of the Province could be secured for settlement, McCullough added to his associates two fellow merchants, Huey and Crymble, and a few months later arrangements were made with the King's Board of Trade whereby a grant was obtained for ten more tracts of land, each tract to contain 100,000 acres, not to be a greater distance apart than ten miles, and to be settled upon in the aggregate by six thousand Protestant Colonists within ten years time. The tracts secured were located on the head waters of the Neuse, Pee Dee, North East, North West and Cape Fear rivers. This grant covered a large part of the sand hills and Piedmont Section of the State. Part of it lay in what was later known as Lord Granville's grant.

With this princely area on his hands to be settled within ten years, Henry McCullough and his associates became active in securing colonization. In order that personal attention might be given to this colonial enterprise, McCullough set out to see first-hand the lay and condition of the land secured in his name. Doubtless he was struck with the potentialities of the country in general, for we find him stating in communications, which have been preserved, to friends in Ulster and England that the climate on the Cape Fear was as good as that of England; that living was incredibly cheap, and that in such a country fortunes could be easily made. Upon friends in Ireland he urged immediate emigration because homesteads taken up now would soon be doubled in value, as this was already found to be true in the lower Cape Fear section where English colonists had already settled.

Each white person taking out a homestead on the McCullough grant was to be given a hundred acres. If such settlers should bring any negroes with them they were to receive fifty acres extra because of each one.

This invitation to enjoy the land of freedom and opportunity so warmly held out to his fellow countrymen, pent up and oppressed in Ireland, was eagerly accepted by four hundred of them, who were desirous of taking the first opportunity to get away from the religious and economic restrictions under which they labored. Delay occurred in securing necessary money for passage over sea, for agricultural implements and other necessities incident to pioneer life. Means were secured, however, through the agency of McCullough, whereby emigration might begin and in the year 1736 the first shipload arrived in America, making their way to the McCullough tract as best they could by the use of barge or improvised wagon.

Being true Presbyterians, these Scotch-Irish Colonists brought their religion with them and soon established the churches of Goshen and Grove, which are the oldest Presbyterian Churches in the State. The absolute freedom of their new

lives made them thankful to God and, like unto the Israelites of old, when a place of prosperity and happiness was assigned to them, they named their primitive, but happy, settlement the Land of "Goshen" and a stream which runs through the locality of this ancient settlement still bears that name.

As to the life of the colonists in these early days, no better description could possibly be given than that in the words of McKelway, in his "Scotch Settlements." . . . "The pioneers came in wagons in which they slept until they could build a house on land of their own selection. The house was built of hewn logs, the interstices stopped with clay, the roof covered with riven boards. One room, one door, and one window closed with a wooden shutter, was the characteristic style of architecture. The furniture of the house consisted of beds, a few stools, a table on which were set pewter dippers and plates, and wooden trenches. A few plow irons and harrow teeth, a hoe and mattox, an axe and a broadaxe, wedges, mauls and chisels would be the inventory of the tools on the farm. Cattle, sheep and geese, horses and hogs were raised with great profit, and from the wool of the sheep the best clothes of the family were spun. From the geese feathers were plucked for pillows and feather beds."

At this early time, no more cotton was raised than could be seeded, woven and spun by hand, and, as this was a matter of tedium, around each fireside in the winter it was a custom for the inmates to do a certain portion of this work. It was not until a later date, with the aid of slaves, that forests were felled and large plantations of cotton grown.

There were few Indians to be found at this time in this portion of the State and there is no record of hostility springing out between them and our Scotch-Irish Colonists. The country alternated with woods and swamps, which had among their inhabitants deer, bears, panthers, pole cats, opossums, raccoons, and other wild animal life common to American out-of-door life. This wild animal life is indicated in the names of creeks

and swamps extant today. In the northern section there is Panther Creek; some fifteen miles further away is Turkey Run, while still further away is Pole Cat Branch, which has been shortened by the years to "Poly" Branch.

Our Scotch-Irish Colonists, the condition of whose early life is above described, came over about four hundred strong and McCullough named the territory between the North East River, Neuse and Black rivers over which they spread out "Duplin," in honor of Lord Duplin, an influential friend on the King's Board of Trade; and a good part of that locality is covered by a county still bearing that name.

That no stone might be left unturned in behalf of the success of his plan for the colonization of six thousand Protestant immigrants in North Carolina, McCullough came again to the Province in 1738, making his headquarters on North East River at a place which he called Sarecta, and laid off for a town. During this time, he also held by appointment of the Crown, the position of Inspector of Revenues and Grants in the Province of North Carolina. Surveyors doing work for him, possibly under the impression that he was a very rich man, presented bills in incredible amounts for services rendered him. The failure of other colonists coming to America to settle on his particular grants was another source of disappointment. In addition to this, agents of the Crown in the Province were not found to be in sympathy with his colossal scheme and "syndicate" method of colonization.

Just as the period of time allotted McCullough and his associates was drawing to a close, McCullough appealed to the King for an extension of time of the grant and a period of three years more for further settlement was graciously conceded. It was during this period that the sale of one hundred thousand acres of land in what is now Forsyth County was effected to the Moravians, who were induced to settle there, and whose stronghold subsequently became the town of Salem—now a part of the modern city of Winston-Salem. Beyond

this, little else was accomplished. Tired in body and in spirit, Henry McCullough made a return trip to England, where he watched from afar the efforts of his land agents to induce further settlement.

At the termination of the conditional grant, McCullough received in fee seventy-two thousand acres of land, as a result of his original contract with the Crown through the Board of Trade. Feeling too old and worn to brave the discomfort of another voyage across the sea, McCullough resided quietly at his country seat, Thurham Green, England, dying in the year 1761.

By way of memoir, a large number of the active years of this venerable old man had been spent in an effort to afford a home for his Presbyterian Scotch-Irish people, and incidentally, to settle and develop the immense and fertile wilderness secured by him for the purpose. His efforts were not wholly without success. Although he did not succeed in colonizing as many of his Scotch-Irish as originally planned for, the settlement of several hundred of his blood in what is now the modern counties of Duplin and Sampson was in itself a great achievement and, incidentally, one that left him a comparatively poor man, in finances if not in the number of wooded acres to which he retained title. Success, however, should not be weighed on the scales of finance alone. From the loins of these sturdy Scotch-Irish settlers on the upper waters of Black and North East rivers have come forth the statesman-like Kenans, Grahams, Houstons, Owens, Walkers, Millers, and a number of other names prominent in the State today, and their achievements, wherever found, stand forth as a lasting monument to the enterprise and public spirit of Henry McCullough, who first paved the way for Scotch-Irish homes in America.

The landed interests of Henry McCullough descended to his only son, Henry Eustace McCullough, who was and remained an Englishman, his interests in the Province of North Carolina being confiscated by the State Assembly during the Revolu-

tionary War because of his failure to aid the patriots in their struggle against the mother country. James Iredell, a nephew of McCullough, the elder, sided with the patriots and later became a justice on the U. S. Supreme Court Bench. Two of McCullough's daughters married colonists, their sons taking a prominent part in the cause of American Independence. Stephen Miller, Revolutionary Patriot, of Duplin County, was one of these, and among his descendants in the State today are Mrs. Marshall Williams, noted portrait painter, former Congressman John M. Faison, now deceased, Dr. I. F. Hicks, of Dunn, and others of the Faison, Hicks, Hill connection.

PLEA FOR MONTICELLO

HISTORIC HOME SHOULD BE PRESERVED SAYS CORRESPONDENT

To those who are interested in the preservation of the historic land-marks of this country, and of the memories of "the simple, great ones gone" the proposition to secure the home of Thomas Jefferson as a national possession, must make its own appeal.

Among the stabilizing and energizing factors in our life today are to be counted the influence of the traditions, the standards, the ideals embodied in such a structure as the house at Monticello, the birthplace of the Declaration of Independence.

Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, framer of the statute for religious freedom in the State of Virginia, father of the University of Virginia, is acknowledged to be the second greatest man of his period. There is no fitting memorial to his name, and that memorial can be established most appropriately in the preservation of the stately home which he loved, built after his own designs, scene of his greatest inspirations and most profound thought, situated in the lovely hill country of Virginia. Monticello, should be secure from the uncertainties and possible changes of private ownership, and dedicated to the memory of Jefferson, and to the pleasure and inspiration of the American people.

In this age, called not untruly an age of materialism, although some of the loftiest idealism has glorified it to all time, such relics of the past are national assets, reminding us that amid the rush of commercial competition and the crash of conflicting opinions, there are some things certain still—the great straightforward principles which are the cornerstone of our independence. No one can travel the roads of Albemarle County, view the buildings of the University at Charlottesville,

which Jefferson so dearly loved, study the house at Monticello, which bears so unmistakably the stamp of elegance and culture, breathe the atmosphere that was Jefferson's daily environment, without experiencing a renewal of responsibility toward his brother, his country, and the whole world.

And a certain pride enters into it. We, a pioneer people, the refugees from a political or religious tyranny, here in the forests of the newly found continent, repeated the homes of our forefathers in an older culture, and passed on to our children the tastes and traditions of gentleness, of scholarship and of courage. Ignorant men do not build such homes as Monticello, and common men do not enjoy them. Great inspirations have been born in log cabins, thank God, but a serene wisdom is at home in stately halls and under ancient trees.

As the cathedrals of the old world are colorful with ancient banners, mere rags which hang from the ceilings and drape the walls, flags and pennants, torn and tattered, scorched and blood-stained, which compel the reverent attention of all beholders, as symbols of the courage and victories of by-gone days, so our country cannot be too rich, in such landmarks as bear witness to the wisdom, the culture, the courage, of our forefathers, during the soul-stirring days of our Nation's infancy.

It is true that American energy and initiative, in this twentieth century, give us authority, but we should not be blind to the fact, nor suffer our children to forget it, that much of our present power and prosperity is traceable to the foresight and wisdom of men whose own day was clouded with doubt and darkness, who in the period of our country's greatest stress, established policies which have been our bulwark and our safeguard, Washington, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Adams, Franklin, Hamilton—and more than I can name here.

We shall defraud our children's children if we suffer the concrete reminders of these men to crumble away, leaving nothing by which the coming generations can visualize the earlier phases of our national existence.

Christ said that man could not live by bread alone. The soul needs nourishment, too, and the imagination must not starve. The romance of sacrifice was a vivid reality to Him, and His teaching established the eternal value of symbolism. He instituted and ordained certain symbolic observances, the outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace.

A flag is such a sign. A shrine is such a sign. A thing of material form, representing an intangible thought, a memory, an inspiration, an aspiration.

Our government is wisely endeavoring to conserve the physical resources of our land, its oil, its coal, its timber. That its equally valuable and more sacred resources of reverence and patriotism be conserved, must to a great extent devolve upon individuals.

That beautiful Monticello be added to the list of rare historic homes thus guarded by the grateful public is the dear hope of the National Monticello Association. Money can buy Monticello, but Monticello stands for what money cannot buy.

In making its appeal for funds this Foundation cannot importune the reluctant, nor beg the indifferent, for money. It points out the opportunity and takes the burden of correspondence, propaganda, exploitation, etc., upon itself, but to beg for this money as a personal favor, would be unworthy of the cause, and unflattering to the intelligence and patriotism of others. The purchase of Monticello now, is a thing worthy to be done. The officers of the Association will be at its office, 1108 Sixteenth Street, daily from ten o'clock to one. Cordially they will welcome all persons interested, and gladly enter into correspondence with groups in clubs or patriotic societies throughout the land.

MARIETTA MINNIGERODE ANDREWS.

March 19, 1923.

By request the author adds the brief address delivered April 13, 1923, Jefferson's birthday, in the rotunda of the University of Virginia.

It is very charming to see so many pleasant faces and to know that one impulse and one common interest have brought us all to this sacred place, and that our united efforts will accomplish the thing which our patriotic feeling tells us should be accomplished.

About six weeks ago there met in my studio in Washington a little group of persons interested in the acquisition of Monticello for the public, and it seems fitting that this room should have been the birthplace of the National Monticello Association, for in it, some forty years before, the character of Thomas Jefferson was profoundly studied. The standard portrait of Jefferson, accepted throughout the world, was painted in that room. My husband, of New England ancestry, a citizen of Ohio, a resident of Berlin and Paris, came to Washington and built a studio, in order to fill certain Government Commissions for historic portraits, among which was this of Thomas Jefferson, and also one of Martha Washington, both hanging in the Red Room at the White House. Later he painted replicas of both, presenting the Jefferson picture to the University of Virginia and the Martha Washington to the Daughters of the American Revolution, who have placed it in their beautiful Continental Hall.

Under this influence was born the National Monticello Association, of which the determined policy was coördination of all associations in the interest of a Jefferson memorial. This assemblage today at Monticello, is the fulfilment of our first hope and policy.

There is nothing in human life so much to be desired, as good will! What is so exhilarating as fellowship? There is no commandment of the Divine Will, as recorded in Holy Writ, more authoritative than the words, "Seek Peace, and ensue it." The human mind has never devised a policy of government so wise, so potent and so indestructible as that expressed in our slogan, "E Pluribus Unum."

To eulogize the character of Thomas Jefferson is beyond my powers; others will do that better. But I will say, that to all classes of Americans his name is dear. The churches honor the name of Jefferson in spite of his lack of orthodoxy, for he knew his Bible, and was the father of religious liberty in this land; the artists honor him because he established a standard of classical excellence, here at Monticello and at the University of Virginia and in the most venerable and beautiful of the public buildings in Washington. If we have today in this country any appreciation of the classic and the academic in art and architecture, we owe it largely to the taste of Thomas Jefferson!

Lawyers and statesmen honor Jefferson because he knew the perfection and the beauty of the theory of the law, and he also knew the imperfection of the practice of law! and he strove to adjust the practice to the theory, and in his personal life did love justice, follow after mercy and walk humbly with his God.

The farmer honors Jefferson, for Jefferson honored the farmer. He loved the soil, was a botanist and a horticulturist and actively engaged in agriculture. My friend, Dr. Safford, of the U. S. Agricultural Department, tells me that the plow in use today, in the fields of Albemarle, was designed by Thomas Jefferson, after he had made a comparative study of the types of plows in use in many lands; and that as President, Mr. Jefferson went regularly to the Center Market in Washington to note the quality, quantity and prices of produce, so as to better encourage the productivity of his country.

To the learned his name is dear, for he was of themselves and founded a great university. There was no day in American civilization more significant than that day on which the private library of Thomas Jefferson was taken to the Capital to become the nucleus of the Congressional Library. And to the unlearned, his name is dear, for he opened to them the doors of knowledge. To the poor and the oppressed his

name is dear, for he recognized the common rights of all humanity, to an equality of opportunity and a share in the privileges of life.

I thank you all, and congratulate you upon this day's work, and pray that the blessings of peace may rest upon this spot, to the uttermost bounds of the everlasting hills surrounding it.

Mr. Gibboney perhaps will read aloud to you letters to me from the Honorable Woodrow Wilson, the Honorable Charles W. Hughes, the Honorable James M. Cox, and Mr. Samuel Gompers, men who, representing wide diversity of avocation and opinion, agree in recognizing the great service, the lofty idealism, of Thomas Jefferson.

**RESIDENCE OF JOHN GRAY BLOUNT, ESQ.,
BUILT IN 1778—TAKEN DOWN—1923
WASHINGTON, N. C.**

BY LIDA TUNSTALL RODMAN

The old home at the corner of Main and Market streets, built in the summer of 1778 for its original owner “John Gray Blount, Esq.,” the first to bear that name, has been removed to make way for a modern business structure in keeping with the growth of the Town in which it was the sixth house to be erected in the then small hamlet, yet, a visionary “City”—the first to be named in honor of Gen. George Washington, commander-in-chief of the American Army during the war of the Revolution.

Could you speak old House what tales of romance and history we might learn for when you were built 145 years ago we were waging a war for Independence, and fighting General Cornwallis with all our might and grit. Many wars have come since then and your sons have been in them all save the Mexican. You were built by slave labor, the lumber was cut and grooved by hand, nails made by hand, wooden pegs frequently used, the exterior laid on extremely plain and simple lines, the interior with every device for comfort and hospitality obtainable at that early period. In time the inevitable two wings were added and from the first commodious servant’s quarters, dairy and laundry and kitchen were separate buildings on the spacious lot that extended from Main street to the river and embraced as well the wharves, office, store and other mercantile buildings of its owner. The foundations were of rocks that had been brought as ballast from the West Indies and other places in the trading vessels of the “Master,” and those under the central chimney and under the cellar were unusually large and have been left undisturbed by the present owner as a link of the past to the present and future generations.

Though you lived to see candles, lamps and gas banished for electricity, your master was in advance of the telephone for tradition says that he sat at his window and heard the guns of Yorktown on the day of that historic engagement, one hundred miles distant and knew that the British were licked.

At another window close by your first "Mistress" planted a pink rose that grew and blossomed all the years; the garden and grass plat became the habitation of many beautiful flowers, shrubs, and trees—magnolias, horsechestnut, haw, linden, mock orange, crape myrtle, yopon, roses, bulbs and rare hothouse plants—through all the viscidities there was ever this environment of repose and refined elegance of the home. For a hundred years, there was never a time in which one or more orphan children were not being reared and cared for by its owner, and a generous welcome was always extended the needy and down-hearted, for this reason it was frequently termed "the God-blessed house."

Many times it was menaced by fire when every other building on the lot would be burned but the old house would be left intact, and in 1900, when a severe fire ravaged that part of the town everything was moved out and citizens hoping to save the stores on the other side attempted to blow it up by exploding a keg of gun powder in one of the rooms but for some cause the old house rose a few inches and settled back on its foundations, with repairs afterwards it was almost as good as ever and continued to be used as a residence for its family until June 15, 1917.

Among the articles saved from destruction in the fire of 1900 was a very unusual window sash, the center of each pane of glass being dark green, made to represent the thirteen original States. The writer has seen its counterpart only once and that was in the historic old house of the Misses Warner on Constitution Island in the Hudson River, near West Point—that quaint old place was almost a facsimile of the John Gray Blount home, though perhaps not quite so large.

Another incident of the 1900 fire, when the east side window facings on the second floor caught from an adjoining brick store, itself destroyed, a man very feeble and infirm went in at the risk of his life and boarded up the two small windows with the top of a rare old rosewood secretary, thereby stopping the entrance of the flames that scorched his hands in the act—he told the writer that “the older people of that house had been so good to his father and mother that he wanted to do something to try to save the old home for Miss Marcia Rodman” (the grand-daughter and owner at that time). This gratitude was the more remarkable because of his misfortunes and that he did not live in the town, happening there accidentally. His apologies for injuring the rosewood piece were profuse; needless to say he was heartily thanked.

The friends and correspondents of John Gray Blount were men, leaders in State and nation and at various times many of them partook of his hospitality, in its long history bishops, governors, senators, historians, wealthy merchants and farmers have all gathered around the mahogany tables in the old home attesting their regard for their host by written testimony as well as spoken word. Wit and gayety often reigned supreme, the fair sex being well represented and many delightful romances began under the old roof tree; guests came not for the “week end,” but for weeks, months, and sometimes years.

In the sad days of the Civil War when the town was occupied by Col. McMillan in command of a regiment of Confederate soldiers from Georgia there was no lack of warm-hearted welcome and care, as many as six or seven sick Confederates were cared for at one time, several ill with typhoid fever—the second floor was given up to them entirely, their meals served from the family table with many delicacies and servants in abundance to wait upon them. Miss Patsey Baker Blount, the owner and gracious hostess and her niece, Miss Marcia B. Rodman, carrying out in their gentle cultured way the family tradition and hospitality.

Later when the Yankees were in possession of the town and the "Mistress" with her family was a refugee, Col. McKibbin, Provost Marshal, took possession of the place, using it as office and residence. During the various engagements between the opposing forces the house was pierced by bullets of both Yankees and Confederates, one of these exploded shells is in possession of the writer, marked upon it "Fired from Confederate Batteries April, 1864, from Rodman's Quarters across the river;" this was originally John Gray Blount's "Fork Farm" and was inherited by his grandson, William Blount Rodman. The place was completely destroyed, being used successively by both armies as a camping ground and vantage point for their attacks upon Washington.

John Gray Blount, second son of Col. Jacob Blount and his wife, Barbara Gray, was born in 1752, died in 1833. At the age of fourteen he learned surveying under Christopher Neal, of New Bern, Surveyor General to the Crown. A few years later he accompanied his father and his elder brother, William Blount, to the battle of Alamance and took part therein with the government forces under Governor William Tryon, in a regiment from Craven County commanded by Col. Joseph Leech; Captain (William?) Blackledge of New Bern. From the account book of Jacob Blount it appears that he acted as "paymaster" for these companies from Craven County by order of Governor Tryon. It is also seen that the militia journeyed to Alamance partly on horseback and that Jacob Blount took his own cart and horse for use of said militia, probably carrying munitions or supplies. In those days the possessor of cart or wagon was fortunate indeed—for as the preface to Volume 13 of Colonial Records relates that at the time of the Revolution, a few years later, "wagons were very scarce and difficult to obtain . . . and in order to move a lot of clothing the wagons had to be sent from Pennsylvania at great trouble and expense." Other entries in Jacob Blount's accounts for the militia indicate that they had few, if any, military trap-

pings, but went at the call of Governor Tryon in their every-day clothes—jackets, knee breeches, thread stockings, bands for neck and wrist, and thread handerchiefs, these articles being listed “washed at Mr. Holt’s.”

John Gray Blount acted as clerk at several of the noted sessions of the Assembly held at New Bern. He was very energetic and was one of the adventurous young men who accompanied Daniel Boone on his celebrated trip into what is now the State of Kentucky. He was present at the planning of the original site of Boonesborough, and at that time he made entries of land in Kentucky. He acted as parson's clerk to Daniel Boone at the romantic marriage of Betsey Calloway to Samuel Henderson and of Jemmia Boone to —— Calloway, after their capture by the Indians and subsequent rescue by the young men of the party.

He represented Beaufort County many times in the Assembly and was a member of the Governor's Council. He was an ardent patriot in the Revolution and in 1777 he was sent to the West Indies on a special mission by the heads of the struggling Revolutionary Government to obtain supplies and materials for making gunpowder and other munitions of war. He acted on several occasions as Assistant Deputy Paymaster to his father, Col. Jacob Blount, and held Commissions from the National and State governments as head of the Commissary Department for Beaufort County with power to impress men and materials into the Revolutionary Service. He was one of the largest land holders in the United States; it has been estimated that his ownership would have covered an area as large, or perhaps larger, than the State of Rhode Island. He was largely instrumental in the development of the town and county; he was the first and largest merchant in the town of Washington for some years and none since have rivalled the extent or variety of his business adventures and transactions—he conducted an import and export trade with ports of Europe, West Indies, New England, New York and Philadelphia.

Tar, pitch, turpentine, tobacco, corn, lumber, staves, skins of wild animals, honey, beeswax were some of the articles transported from the surrounding country to his store in Washington and from there to "Shell Castle," a small island of shell rock near Ocracoke, owned by him, where the large vessels and brigs awaited their cargoes, and on which was the office of the Collector of Customs. After the lapse of weeks the ships would return laden with salt, molasses, coffee, rum, nails, cutlery, linen, crockery and other manufactured articles. The Captain of a Spanish ship offered to cover Shell Castle with Spanish dollars but he refused to sell even at so great a price. For some years his brothers were associated with him in business, conducting a branch store in Tarborough under the firm name of "John Gray, Reading and Thomas Blount." He was one of the early commissioners of the Town of Washington and was instrumental in securing the Act of Assembly to transfer the County seat from the ancient Town of Bath to Washington. He made application to the Assembly for authority to organize a fire company, the first in the town, of which he was the leader for several years—he was the most influential man in Beaufort County in his day and was termed by his admirers "King Blount"; it was said that his approbation of a man was sufficient guarantee of that man's character.

On the 17th day of September, 1778, he married Mary Harvey, daughter of Col. Miles Harvey of Harvey Hall, Perquimans County, and great-grand-daughter of Governor Thomas Harvey of Colonial days. She was very lovely in character and person. Their children were, 1—Thomas Harvey Blount; married, first, Margaret Brown of Washington, D. C., no issue; second, Elizabeth Mutter Blount of Edenton; 2—Polly Anna Blount married William Wanton Rodman of New York and afterwards of Washington, North Carolina; 3—John Gray Blount, Jr., a soldier of the War of 1812, married Sally Haywood of Raleigh, N. C., no issue; 4—Lucy Olivia Blount married Bryan Grimes of Pitt County, and resided in Raleigh;

5.—William Augustus Blount, a soldier of War of 1812, married Nancy Haywood of Raleigh; second, his cousin, Nancy Littlejohn of Edenton—no issue of this marriage; 6—Patsey, or Martha, Baker Blount never married.

John Gray Blount and his wife, Mary Harvey, with several of their children are buried in his family plot in the old cemetery surrounding St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Washington, N. C.

(This brief sketch is taken from a volume to be published in a few months entitled "Family History of Jacob Blount and His Sons Ascendants and Descendants A. D. 699-1923, with the Allied Families of Harvey and Others" by Lida Tunstall Rodman.) (Copyright applied for, author's rights reserved.)

GRAND MASTERS SPAIGHT, JERKINS AND CLARK

(Continued from preceding number)

By MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD

ALONZO THOMAS JERKINS

From 1832, when Richard Dobbs Spaight laid aside the Grand Master's gavel and retired to the ranks of Past Grand Masters, nearly a score of years elapsed before St. John's Lodge was called upon to furnish another ruler of the Craft throughout the Grand Jurisdiction of North Carolina, and I shall now recount some of the salient points of his personal and Masonic history.

ALONZO THOMAS JERKINS was a native of New Bern, born on the 2d day of June, 1809. His father, Thomas Jerkins, who died in 1855, was a man of substance, owning valuable landed property in and around New Bern. In the case of Jerkins v. Mitchell, 57 North Carolina Supreme Court Reports, pages 207-212, will be found some account of the Jerkins family.

In early youth, Alonzo T. Jerkins entered the University of North Carolina, during the presidency of Dr. Joseph Caldwell, and had so far progressed in his studies as to pass his sophomore year, when the death of his mother determined him to re-join his family in New Bern. He accordingly left the University about the year 1825, and returned to his native town. Not long thereafter, he began a mercantile career which lasted up to the time of the War Between the States. His discontinuation of merchandising during the war was probably due to the unsettled state of affairs incident to the capture and occupation of New Bern by the United States forces.

Both before and after the war, Mr. Jerkins was prominently connected with enterprises of industry, finance, and transportation by water and land. When the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company was incorporated by Chapter 136 of

the Laws of 1852, he was named as a member of the board of directors. He was president of the Bank of Commerce in New Bern, and a director of the Merchants Bank. He was also a member of the board of trustees of the historic New Bern Academy.

Mr. Jerkins never held political office but once. That was in the General Assembly of 1850-'51, when he was a member of the House of Commons from Craven County. His career as a legislator was as creditable as it was brief.

The record in Masonry of Brother Jerkins began in 1845, when he received the degrees in St. John's Lodge, No. 3, whose sesqui-centennial we are now celebrating. From the very first he became an ardent devotee of the Craft and a diligent student and practicer of its precepts.

Within the short space of five years after his entrance into the Masonic fraternity, Brother Jerkins was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, and was duly installed on the 3d day of December, 1850. His first term expired on the 3d of December, 1851. He was then re-elected, his second term ending on the 7th of December, 1852, when he was elected for a third term, which expired on December 8, 1853. The other Grand Lodge officers elected and appointed to serve with him during his first term were: Cyrus P. Mendenhall, Deputy Grand Master; Luke Blackmer, Senior Grand Warden; John A. Rowland, Junior Grand Warden; Celadon D. W. Hutchings, Grand Treasurer; William T. Bain, Grand Secretary; Joseph Green, Senior Grand Deacon; Edward R. Stanly, Junior Grand Deacon; James T. Marriott, Grand Steward; Matthew A. Outten, Grand Marshal; Patrick H. Winston, Grand Pursuivant; W. F. S. Alston, Grand Sword Bearer; J. M. C. Breaker, Grand Chaplain; and James S. Terrell, Grand Tyler. These officers served through all three terms of Grand Master Jerkins with the exception that James E. Allen succeeded Junior Grand Warden Rowland during second term and William P. Taylor succeeded Allen during third term.

All the annual addresses of Grand Master Jerkins breathe a spirit of devout gratitude to God for the growing prosperity of Masonry and for the good which it was permitted to accomplish. Several incidents of an interesting nature were touched upon. In 1851 he reports that one hundred dollars had been sent by the Grand Lodge to aid in building monument in Washington City to the zealous Mason and world-renowned patriot, George Washington; and, in the following year he reports that the centennial of Washington's initiation into the Order had been generally celebrated throughout North Carolina. In 1852 he also feelingly alludes to the death of a loyal Mason and great American statesman, Past Grand Master Henry Clay, of the Grand Lodge of Kentucky. An object of constant hope in his heart was the completion of St. John's College, at Oxford. In a few more years he saw this Masonic enterprise fail; and, years later he saw grow up on the site intended for the college that greatest glory of North Carolina Masonry, the Oxford Orphan Asylum.

Ever a faithful guardian of the best interests of Masonry, Grand Master Jerkins constantly sought to impress upon all Brethren the duty of leading clean lives and thereby advancing the honor of the Order. In his 1852 annual address he said:

"A private Mason, whose life is intemperate and corrupt, does an incalculable injury to the cause of Masonry; but an officer, who does not live above vice and intemperance, is a curse to our Order, as he retards its advancement and tramples its holy precepts under his feet."

In the North Carolina Grand Lodge Proceedings for 1896, there is a brief memoir (accompanied by portrait) of Past Grand Master Jerkins—this memoir being prepared by a committee whose chairman was his fellow-townsman and lifelong friend, Past Grand Master Charles C. Clark. In part, it said:

"As student, he was bright and intelligent; as merchant, frugal and thrifty; as legislator, faithful and patriotic; as bank director and president, wise and safe; as trustee, generous and

sympathetic; as Christian, gentle, trustful, loving. In the domestic relations, he was genial and affectionate.

"It was in Masonry, however, that the most distinctive traits of his character, illuminated by the brightness of the Christian faith, shone most conspicuously. His daily walk was an exemplification of brotherly love, relief, and truth. With a heart full of benevolence, his beneficences were without stint. He relieved the distressed and compassionated their misfortunes. Thoroughly cognizant of the ritualistic teachings of the Order, he strove to be true and illustrate the precept by example. The record of his good deeds is imperishable.

"Exalted to the office of Grand Master, the cup of his ambition seemed to be full, and gratitude for the honor stimulated his efforts. Versed in law and usage, discriminating in interpretation, prompt in decision, inimical to innovation, tenacious of landmark and tradition, fraternal in intercourse, his administration was notable for wisdom and conservatism."

Though always a man of religious temperament, and a firm believer in the principles of Christianity, Past Grand Master Jerkins did not formally connect himself with the church of his choice until he was on the threshold of his three-score years and ten. On January 6, 1878, he was baptized by the Reverend Thomas H. Pritchard, D.D., pastor of the First Baptist Church, in Raleigh. During the remainder of his life he was a communicant of the First Baptist Church in New Bern. His life came to an end in the 87th year of his age on April 7, 1895.

Past Grand Master Jerkins was twice married, but left no children. His first wife was Miss Sarah McIlvean, of eastern North Carolina. After her death, he married Miss Susan C. Hooper, of Richmond, Virginia, who survived him.

In closing this sketch of Past Grand Master Jerkins, I can not do better than quote from the announcement of his death made by Grand Master Moye to the Grand Lodge in 1896: "He was a most enthusiastic Mason, and enjoyed the high dis-

tinction of having been elected Grand Master three times in succession. In every avenue of life, and every position to which he was called, he was true and faithful to his trust."

CHARLES CAUTHEN CLARK

CHARLES CAUTHEN CLARK, like his predecessors Spaight and Jerkins, was a native and life-long resident of New Bern. He was born on the 28th day of December, 1829. His father, William Clark, and his mother, whose maiden name was Martha Stevenson, resided in New Bern and both belonged to families of the highest standing in their community.

Charles C. Clark received his preparatory education at the New Bern Academy—that educational nursery of so many great North Carolinians—and went from there to Wake Forest College, where he was a student from 1845 until 1847. Going from Wake Forest to Princeton University, he graduated from that renowned institution, receiving from it the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1849 and Master of Arts in 1852. After reading law under the Honorable William H. Washington, an eminent practitioner in New Bern, he was admitted to the Bar, and soon gained a high rank in his profession. Forming a partnership later in life with Frederick C. Roberts, he practiced with that gentleman for some time. Mr. Clark was not only a highly educated and thoroughly equipped lawyer, but was a man of surpassing gifts as a public speaker.

During the War Between the States, on September 22, in 1862, Mr. Clark was commissioned Commissary in the Thirty-first North Carolina Regiment, but resigned about three months later (December 8th), upon being elected Solicitor (prosecuting attorney) of the Second Judicial District. He retained the office of Solicitor until the downfall of the Confederate Government.

In the turmoils of the days of Reconstruction, Mr. Clark was strongly aligned with the "Conservatives," and was later

a Democrat. He was largely instrumental in promoting the nomination of Jonathan Worth for Governor, and became a close friend and confidential adviser of that gentleman after his election, as shown by Worth's correspondence which has been published by the North Carolina Historical Commission. By appointment of Governor Worth, Mr. Clark became a director of the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company.

On November 9, 1865, Mr. Clark was elected a member of Congress, and was given a legal certificate of his election, but was not allowed to take his seat. Of the seven North Carolinians chosen in that Congressional election, only one could qualify by taking the oath that he had held no office, civil or military, under the Confederate Government.

Mr. Clark was a man of deep religious convictions. He was a consistent member of the First Baptist Church in New Bern; and, in the absence of the pastor, often officiated in his place. From 1871 until 1873, he also served his denomination as a trustee of Wake Forest College.

It was in 1851 that Brother Clark received the degrees in Masonry from St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern. By successive steps he passed up to the office of Master. In Royal Arch Masonry, Companion Clark belonged to the Chapter in New Bern. This was called Eureka Chapter, No. 7, prior to the War Between the States. It later surrendered its charter and was afterwards replaced by New Bern Chapter, No. 46. Of the latter body Companion Clark was Excellent High Priest from 1877 until 1880.

As early as December 3, 1860, Brother Clark became an elective office of the Grand Lodge, being chosen Junior Grand Warden in that year. In 1870 he was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, and installed on December 6th. Having been duly re-elected, he was installed for a second term on December 5, 1871. He passed out of office on the installation of his successor, December 3, 1872. The Grand Lodge officers who served under him during his first term were: Joseph B.

Batchelor, Deputy Grand Master; John Nichols, Senior Grand Warden; Samuel H. Rountree, Junior Grand Warden; William E. Anderson, Grand Treasurer; Donald W. Bain, Grand Secretary; J. L. Carroll, Grand Chaplain; W. L. Love, Senior Grand Deacon; Samuel A. Williams, Junior Grand Deacon; George M. Whiteside, Grand Marshal; Thomas A. Green, Grand Sword Bearer; Benjamin I. Howze, Grand Pursuivant; and Joseph H. Separk, Grand Tyler. These officers held over during Grand Master Clark's second term except the Junior Grand Warden, the Grand Chaplain, and the Grand Tyler—Clinton A. Cilley succeeding Junior Grand Warden Rountree (who was appointed Grand Lecturer), Numa F. Reed succeeding Grand Chaplain Carroll, and Henry C. Prempert succeeding Grand Tyler Separk.

The two annual addresses of Grand Master Clark, set forth in the Grand Lodge Proceedings for the years 1871 and 1872, were filled with practical suggestions too many here to quote. Two beautiful references to the principles of the Order, however, I cannot refrain from reproducing. In the 1871 Proceedings he said:

“A profane Mason is a palpable contradiction. A drunken Mason is a vile slander upon our cherished Institution. Let us see to it that he who wears the Lambskin, the emblem of innocence, shall not bedaub its spotless folds with the filth of the mouth, or the mud of the gutter; but shall preserve it, pure and without spot, the badge of a Mason who reverences his God, and, unlike the brute, gives not the loose reins to the low propensities of his nature.”

No less true and forceful were the words he spoke in the annual address contained in the 1872 Proceedings (at the end of his term) when he declared:

“Masonry, Brethren, lives in the light; her deeds are deeds of light; her words are words of light; and to the light she brings all who kneel at her sacred altar. With her eye fixed on the great moral laws, as the setless sun of her firmament,

which ever sheds resplendent beams of light on the pathway which leads to the fulfillment of her destiny, and the accomplishment of her humane purposes, she utterly abhors and contemns the traitor to her teachings, who skulks in the darkness, and amid the ebullitions of an unhallowed passion, or the jeers and jests of an unthoughted mirth, or the polluting demands of an insatiable appetite, makes a plaything of God's name, and wallows in the mud which his own debauchery has made. . . .

"Masonry, Brethren, applauds the right and contemns the wrong. She adorns the palace and graces the hut. The politest sensibility of the most refined maidenly delicacy is never shocked by the coarseness of her speech, nor the brutality of her acts. Masonry never plunges the dagger into the bosom of parental love. Masonry never holds her bacchanalian revels in the midst of the wife's heart-broken sobs, or the children's despairing cries. Masonry never looks up to Heaven, and with haughty defiance towards God, hisses insult at Him through teeth set on edge by her own chosen depravity, while she lives, day by day, on His goodness, and sleeps, night by night, on the pillow of His mercy. Oh no! Masonry receives her light and catches her inspiration from the moral law of God Himself; and, while truth is a divine attribute, and benevolence a universal obligation, and justice shall render to all their just dues without distinction, so long shall the Mason, who flies from the parlor to give vent to his heart-rending oaths, or turns his back upon all decent company to give loose reins to his debasing appetites, seek no shelter and find no refuge within the sacred precincts of the mystic temple."

In his home relations Grand Master Clark was most fortunate, save when death invaded his family circle. In the year 1854 he was united in marriage with Miss Fannie Howard, of New Bern. From this union sprang many children and grandchildren. His eldest son and law partner, William W. Clark, was a highly talented member of the Bar in his native town. He was appointed United States Judge for the Eastern District

of North Carolina by President Cleveland, but failed of confirmation by the United States Senate in consequence of the political discord which marked the close of Cleveland's last term. His death, and that of a brother, were blows from which their father never recovered. Edward Clark, the present Mayor of New Bern, is another one of the sons of Grand Master Clark, who was also survived by several daughters.

Past Grand Master Clark's deep and devoted interest in Masonry lasted through life, though the great age attained by him rendered him less active in his closing years. He died in the eighty-second year of his age on the 30th day of October, 1911. On the day following, the Grand Lodge convened in special communication to conduct his funeral. The church services were held at the First Baptist Church by its pastor, the Reverend E. T. Carter, and Deputy Grand Master McKoy (later Grand Master) held the Masonic burial services in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

Of Past Grand Master Clark it was truly said by Grand Master Hackett in his next annual address: "He died revered by all who knew him, and the memory of his splendid character is a priceless legacy to North Carolina Masonry."

JOHN LOUIS TAYLOR

Before concluding my narrative, I deem it well to say that there have really been *four* Grand Masters of the Grand Lodge whose subordinate Lodge membership was in St. John's Lodge, now No. 3. From 1797 until 1811, the Honorable JOHN LOUIS TAYLOR lived in New Bern, and then served three annual terms as Grand Master of the Grand Lodge, from 1802 until 1805. From 1814 until 1817 (after he had removed to Raleigh) he was again Grand Master for three terms. He attained great fame as a lawyer, and was the first Chief Justice of the present Supreme Court, which began its sittings on January 1, 1819. He was also Junior Warden of the first vestry of the parish of

Christ Church in Raleigh. As Grand Master Taylor spent the greater part of his life away from New Bern, I shall not prolong this address by giving his biography. Instead, I refer any of my hearers, who may be interested, to a sketch of Grand Master and Chief Justice Taylor in the *Biographical History of North Carolina*, Volume V., pages 402-406. That sketch was written by me more than sixteen years ago.

CONCLUSION

This, my Brethren, about concludes what I have to say. Those old Grand Masters, whose careers I have attempted to depict, wrought worthily and wisely, reflecting honor upon the Order while living, and laying a firm foundation for Masonry's success "now, from henceforth, and forevermore."

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES CENTRE HILL CHOWAN COUNTY

BY DR. RICHARD DILLARD

EARLY HISTORY

Geographically speaking, Centre Hill is the highest point in Chowan County, and forms a water-shed, or great divide; On the east the drainage is through Bear Swamp into Perquimans River, while on the west the water flows by various swamps and streams into the Brownrigg Mill-pond, then turning the busy wheels of the old mill which, since 1762 has furnished the bread for the community, falls over the flume, rattling and white with foam into Indian Creek, which, meandering through the estates of Bandon, Wingfield and Martinique, respectively, the ancient homesteads of the Johnson, Brownrigg and Parker families, finally debouches into Chowan River.

The ancient name of Centre Hill was "The Punch Bowl," from a well defined natural depression now almost obliterated, in the grove near the site of the present Methodist Church. Five main arteries of traffic concentrate there like spokes in the hub of a great wheel, it therefore very early in our history became a sort of civic and communal centre for religious services, schools and picnics, a place for muster, and a voting precinct, where whig and democrat contended for supremacy. It could hardly then have been designated as a village, more properly speaking a hamlet, or what the Norwegians would call a townlet, consisting as it did of less than a dozen homesteads, a church, a schoolhouse and a store. The early inhabitants, thrifty and intelligent farmers, located on this spine of sandy land for reasons of health, and for convenience to their low-lying fertile lands in Bear Swamp, enjoying to the uttermost their rich subsidies of corn and pork, and their excellent Scuppernong wine. They had comfortable houses surrounded

by stately old trees, that beat back the summer heat from the sweltering fields, and wheeled their cooling shade aslant the long piazzas. There were orchards, and the invariable scuppernong vine upon its arbor. On the back were the gardens with rows of fig bushes and raspberry vines, while tall hollyhocks and sun flowers lifted their fairy wands above the greenery. A few cabins, where the slaves were quartered, were scattered about the premises, with their dumpy chimneys, and their doorways always freshly swept with alder bushes. A number of years ago some parties in making an excavation just to the east, where the land falls off into the great basin country called Bear Swamp, discovered a cypress boat, fairly well preserved, some six or more feet below the surface. It was supposed to have been of Indian origin, as there is a very ancient tradition that Bear Swamp was once a lake.

THE METHODISTS

As early as 1804 itinerant Methodist ministers found their way into this community, and held their meetings at the house of Wm. J. Skinner near Centre Hill. Their membership included such men as Wm. J. Skinner, James Roberts, Thos. Avery, Charles Skinner, John Evans, Zachariah Evans and Barnabas Nixon, who afterwards joined the Baptists.

Increasing rapidly it soon became necessary to build a house of worship, so about the year 1820 a church was built in the grove near "The Punch Bowl." As the name was very inappropriate for a church and entirely out of harmony with the purposes of those zealous old Christians, many heated discussions arose in regard to its name; finally it was decided to refer the matter to some one not a member of the church. Miss Mary Brownrigg was selected, who promptly christened it Centre Hill, the name it has borne ever since. A few years afterwards she established a Sunday school there (nonsectarian in character), the first in this section of the State. Sunday schools had only been in existence since 1781, when Robt.

Raikes established them in Gloucester, England, selecting for his pupils the ragged urchins of the streets. In 1826 Rev. Zachariah Evans, residing on the Virginia Road, founded Evans' church and became its first pastor. An acre of land was purchased from Henry Welch for three dollars. The first trustees were Henry Holmes, a pioneer in Methodism at Edenton, Zachariah Evans, Cullen Jones and John Hawkins. (Yeopim church was built in 1771, and Ballard's Bridge in 1783.)

(Footnote. The name of Skinner became so numerous and so prominent in this church that it was sometimes called Skinners Meeting House.”)

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS

This section of the State is particularly rich in romance and history, and the beautiful story of Judge Carew should not be forgotten. Somewhere near the year 1825 there appeared in the upper part of Chowan County a young man of mysterious but distinguished personnel, introducing himself as J. E. Spencer. His affability and social qualities soon gained for him many friends; being reduced to almost abject want he was induced to open a small school at Centre Hill. This old school-house stood until a few years ago when it was torn down. Mr. Spencer was the most romantic and interesting character that masqueraded in our past. In order to complete his disguise he lived in the humblest manner, thoroughly adapting himself to his surroundings, but with the aid of his little school at Centre Hill obtaining a fair competency. At times he became silent and moody, and addicted to drink.

Before the introduction of the gotton gin cotton was seeded by hand, the neighborhood gathering at different points for that purpose. These cotton pickings came to be the social event of the winter evenings; they were a sort of movable feast open alike to saint and sinner. The cotton was carried into the largest room of the house, and heaped high in the middle of

the floor, a huge fire was built in the great fireplace and the guests arranged themselves in congenial groups, and thus they went on from one house to another the entire winter. Spencer's affability, and fine conversational powers made him a welcome guest at these rural entertainments, and he became a frequent visitor; another frequent attendant was a fresh country lass named Fanny Parish, beautiful and innocent, the daughter of an humble farmer of that neighborhood. Spencer became violently enamoured of her and they were soon married.

Subsequently he moved to Edenton and taught in the old academy, and at the same time edited the local paper, which was noted for its bon mots and elegant composition; on one occasion a man named Constant Green married a Miss Lily White. Spencer with characteristic humor composed a poem for his paper, the last lines of which ran thus:

“And in one night
This Lily White
Became the Constant Green.”

After a time there appeared an advertisement from a gentleman of Charleston in several of the newspapers of the county inquiring about a lost son; Spencer saw the advertisement, and recognized it as from his father. A correspondence was at once opened and the history of the mysterious young man soon became known. . . . Spencer turned out to be the son of an aristocratic Charleston gentleman named Carew, his real name was Carew and not Spencer. Young Carew, while at Yale College, became involved in a serious difficulty with a classmate, while under the influence of whiskey, and in the heat of young blood he dealt his friend what then seemed to be a fatal blow. Through the intervention of friends Carew made his escape from the officers, and in his wanderings drifted to this section penniless, hungry, and debauched. His father informed him that his wounded classmate was not dead, but had recovered entirely, and then threw open the doors of his house to his prodigal son. Carew left at once with his wife

and children, and was received by his friends at home with open arms, and was once more at liberty to take his true name of J. E. Carew. It is said that his wife could not write her name at the time of their marriage, but was remarkably refined and beautiful for her station in life. The very best talent in Charleston was at once engaged to teach her music, fine arts, and all the modern accomplishments, and an old friend of former days, who subsequently visited them in their changed condition, said that he found her one of the most cultured ladies of that city. But Carew never forgot the friends of his dark days, and at once paid off all his old debts, nor did his cultivated wife frown upon her humble relatives; on the contrary she aided them in every way possible.

After the lapse of many years Carew paid this section another visit, and would grow indignant if any of his old pupils or friends called him anything but Mr. Spencer.

Mr. Carew became a very prominent lawyer in Charleston, and was subsequently made a judge. He and his beautiful wife have been dead for many years, but their romantic little story still lives in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, and even now when a stranger spends a night at Centre Hill he is entertained with the story of Judge Carew.

After Judge Carew, John H. Garrett (called "Col. Garrett") conducted a flourishing school at Centre Hill; alert, efficient, and well equipped mentally, his influence upon that community can hardly be calculated. Afterwards removing to Edenton, he was at different times a merchant, justice of the peace, Supt. of Public Instruction for the County, and was for several years editor of the Albemarle Enquirer. In 1876, the year of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia, President Grant issued a proclamation requesting every county in the Union to appoint one of its citizens to write its history up to date; Col. Garrett was at once selected as the most suitable man for that purpose. His contribution consisted of a series of five well written articles, of intensely interesting personal reminiscence, and

local history, some copies of which are still in existence. In 1885, while editing the local paper at Edenton, he became involved in altercation with several citizens in regard to the establishment of a graded school at Edenton. Col. Garrett advocated educational progress, but opposed their manner of procedure. The controversy was long and bitter, but he finally outwitted his opponents, and gained a complete victory over them. In 1860 Mr. Dempsey Bartclift, from Perquimans County, settled at Centre Hill, and conducted a large school there for a number of years, some of the older citizens still residing in that community were numbered among his pupils. He was a rigid disciplinarian, and a strict Methodist. Slackening was the greatest crime in Mr. Barclift's school, and he punished it accordingly; his doctrine was, that he was there to teach, and the pupils came there to learn, the boy who failed to know his lessons was sure of a sound thrashing. Mr. Barclift was of medium stature, dark complected, wore a beard, had a well-shaped head, very bald, and small black piercing nervous eyes, he always carried a large black cane with a crooked handle. Philosophers and teachers rarely reap their reward in their own generation but like the righteous "their works do follow them."

CIVIL WAR INCIDENTS

In February, 1862, Roanoke Island was evacuated by the Confederates, and a draft was made on the Chowan militia. A company was organized with John C. Pearce as captain; this company, with a company of mounted infantry, made up from volunteers from Gates and Chowan, and also a company of cavalry from Nansemond Co., Va., under Captain Jesse B. Brewer were encamped at Centre Hill, Col. William A. Moore (afterward Judge Moore) in command. Lt.-Col. Williams then stationed at Winton, having been informed that there was disloyalty and much opposition to the Confederate cause at Edenton, ordered Major Brabble, afterwards Colonel and killed

near Richmond, to proceed to Edenton, arrest the Union men, burn the town and withdraw. Major Brabble crossed the Chowan, and encamped for the night at Centre Hill where Col. Moore was in command. When Major Brabble informed him of Lt.-Col. Williams' order, Col. Moore became indignant, and, being ranking officer, forbade him to execute the order, and would not permit Maj. Brabble to proceed to Edenton until he had exacted from him the promise not to burn the town. Maj. Brabble, however, marched to Edenton and arrested four men, but the charges were found to be false, and he withdrew. Col. Moore therefore by this act of interference saved the town of Edenton from destruction, and its inhabitants owe his memory an everlasting debt of gratitude. Edenton was again threatened with destruction in 1864 by Maj. Terwilliger of the Union Army, but it was averted through the diplomacy of Col. Thos. W. Hudgins, then mayor.

One night while the soldiers were going through the manual of arms in the Methodist Church at Centre Hill, and drilled by John M. Bunch who was home on a furlough from the regular army, the command of fire was given, one of the guns happened to be loaded, and killed a soldier named John Twine, standing on the opposite side of the church; the ball passed through his head, then through the wall of the building, and out into the grove. The hole made by this ball could be seen until a few years ago when the church was remodeled. The unfortunate death of this young man produced a profound impression upon the community. Very early in the war it became evident that the resources of the county would be severely taxed to supply the sinews of war, and sustain our armies in the field. The people of this section, stirred with the same spirit of loyalty, patriotism and sacrifice that we saw so much in evidence during the great world war, contrived every legitimate means for collecting funds and supplies. A number of the most prominent ladies and gentlemen of Centre Hill and the surrounding community called a meeting, and decided to have some well selected

tableaux, and incidentally to afford amusement. As there were no halls or schoolhouses large enough to accommodate the audience expected, it was decided to have the entertainment in a big barn, which still stands in the rear of the residence now occupied by Mr. T. C. White on the Virginia road, being also a very central point for the community. A stage was erected, and seats installed, the very best talent, and the most beautiful young ladies and gallant beaux were called into requisition. Several weeks were spent in collecting costumes, selecting tableaux, rehearsing and posing the *dramatis personae*. Finally the eventful night arrived, the barn was cleanly swept, and draped with Confederate flags, and innumerable candles added brilliancy to the scene, a large expectant audience awaited the rising of the curtain.

The opening tableau was a personification of all the states included in the Confederacy by beautiful girls: Miss Emma Womble represented Florida; all bedight with flowers, and garlanded with mock-orange blossoms, she held in her hand a bunch of sweet potatoes colored to represent bananas. Another tableau was a representation of the domestic resources, and household production of the South. One lady seeded cotton, another carded and spun, while another wove cloth upon a loom. Miss Annie Brinkley carded and spun in this scene. Then came night and morning, Morning by Miss Elizabeth Cochrane, and Night by Miss Annie F. Parker (afterwards Mrs. Dr. R. H. Winborne). She was a pretty brunette, gowned in black and draped with a black India lace shawl, into which was sewed innumerable stars and a silver cresent, her back turned to morning, this was considered one of the most beautiful of the living pictures. Miss Parker later in the evening was dressed as a Gipsy fortune-teller and was frequently patronized.

Miss Annie Wesson, then a governess in the family of Mr. William J. Holley at Bandon (and afterwards Mrs. West R. Leary), sang the "Bonny Blue Flag," and by request, "The

Hunter's Horn," in compliment to Dr. Winborne, who was a famous fox-hunter; Miss Mary Isabella Parker (Mrs. Dr. Wm. T. Woodley) also sang appropriate selections during the interludes. The piano for the occasion was loaned by Mr. John G. Small.

The old song, "They say I'm pretty," was beautifully rendered in pantomime by Miss Jane Simpson (afterwards Mrs. Dr. Starkey Sharpe of Harrellsville). As these old songs constitute a part of the folk-lore of our people, I am delighted to be able to insert it here, as it was recited to me by Mrs. West R. Leary (née Miss Annie Wesson); it is greatly to be regretted that the music cannot be reproduced:

"THEY SAY I'M PRETTY

"They say I'm pretty, and I cannot think them wrong,
For many a suitor my heart has tried to gain,

But he my heart has chosen, will not come along,
Though my eyes and my sighs reveal the secret pain.

Chorus—

"Then weep no more, for the cloud of trouble's o'er,"
The heart that is strong can never break-no-no!
The world may wag, as it has always wagged before,
Vain regret has never yet a fortune made-no-no!
"They say that he loves me, but he's far behind the times,
He can't find pluck to let a body know,
Now I have a beau with a pocket full of dimes,
So I think I'll take the chink, and let the faint heart go."

Chorus—

There were a number of other tableaux, which cannot now be recalled, the climax, however, was a scene representing Pocahontas saving the life of Capt. John Smith. The writer, as a little boy, was present at this great social event, and fell asleep in his father's arms, but awoke just in time to see Pocahontas rescue Capt. John Smith. A handsome sum was realized, besides a large contribution of clothing, socks, and other useful articles for our soldiers.

MISCELLANY

In 1865 Mr. James I. Cannon established a large vineyard and winery at his farm, named Broughton's, near Centre Hill,

which he successfully operated for a number of years. He was an expert in grafting and layering, and experimented with a great many varieties of grapes, especially the Malaga, which he found was not adapted to this climate. He had in his employment a Scotchman, named John McDonald, who made excellent wines. Some years the vintage yielded 100 barrels of wine. Mr. Cannon conceived the idea of shipping the Scuppernong grape to Northern markets in small perforated paper boxes, but this was not a success, on account of the slender attachment of the stems causing them to become detached and spoil. He also compounded a cancer remedy for which he claimed great results, and numbered among his patients Mr. Jas. C. Johnstone of Hayes near Edenton. In 1864, after this section fell into the hands of the Federals, Mr. Cannon was appointed on a special commission from this county with Wm. E. Bond and Jos. F. Waff, to visit Gen. Butler at Fortress Monroe and to secure his protection, and a betterment of the existing conditions.

Mr. Cannon was a great wit and entertainer, he was very distinguished looking, very agreeable, always neatly dressed, and many of his witticisms are still repeated in his old neighborhood. To have him to dinner, or to visit his hospitable home was always a great privilege and pleasure.

In 1868 or '70 the Masons of this community, finding it inconvenient to attend the mother lodge at Edenton, instituted a lodge at Centre Hill, and built a substantial hall there, but after a few years it suspended.

It is the object of the writer, in printing these desultory notes, to preserve some interesting bits of local history, which might otherwise be lost or forgotten, he feels, however, that his endeavors have fallen far short of his desires.

August 6, 1918.

OLD CAROLINA COLLEGE

By GEN. W. A. SMITH

In preparation of this article, I wish in the forefront to acknowledge the valuable assistance received from Mrs. Winifred Watkins Redfearn, a graduate of the College, whose vivid recollections co-ordinate and corroborate the writer's; and the material assistance of Mrs. Lily Doyle Dunlap, a famed teacher of many years and a noted genealogist of our village of Ansonville whose research work is not confined to State lines but is recognized by all patriotic societies throughout the South and the Union. She has prepared a catalog of the students attending the College 60-70 years ago, which has been freely drawn upon by the writer.

By act of the Legislature of the State of North Carolina in 1850 a corporation was formed and a charter granted for a woman's College under the name and title of Carolina Female College, with power to confer diplomas upon graduates, certifying proficiency in educational knowledge; said College to be located in the County of Anson.

In the beginning there was a lively contest as to location of the Institution, it being left to that town or section subscribing the largest amount. Ansonville won over Wadesboro, Lilesville, Rockingham and other places. Lilesville being a close second.

In 1850 land was purchased from Joel Tyson, Esq., a deed from him to the individual subscribers is of record. This deed conveyed 15 acres of table land, lying on the public highway leading from Cheraw, S. C. to Salisbury, N. C., said 15 acres being forest, the oak predominating. In addition to this plat of land the deed covered a 60-foot right-of-way to a fine mineral spring of chalybeate waters distant from the College building about 500 yards. This right-of-way was afterwards known as "The Avenue."

The corporation was duly organized. A Board of Trustees elected, consisting of Maj. Stephen W. Cole, Dr. C. W. Watkins, Joseph Medley, Joel Tyson, Col. Wm. G. Smith and Benj. I. Dunlap. Colonel Smith was made president of the Board.

The Trustees promptly proceeded to clean out the underbrush and foundations laid for a commodious building of brick, imposed upon a wall of sandstone rising 3 or 4 feet above the ground. Citizens of the section burnt the brick and Col. Smith supplied the lumber of finest long leaf yellow pine, not an edge of sas or a knot was allowed in the entire building so careful was the selection, nothing was too good or too fine for the girls to dwell therein. It was builded by hand labor from the ground to the comb. No planing mills, door and sash factories in that day—hard hand labor wrought the whole building to a perfect finish. Not even the window glass was "made in Germany." The residence for the President of the Institute and other outbuildings were wood. The College soon became a nucleus for a thriving village, residents being attracted from Anson and other counties.

The first Institution in the world devoted exclusively to the education of women was Wesleyan, located in Macon, Georgia, named for the great John Wesley, and the third was Carolina Female College, both under the patronage of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Wesleyan College flourished from the beginning to the present day, closing its doors only temporarily during the War between the States.

Carolina Female College began its career under the presidency of the Rev. Alexander Smith, immediately took high rank and drew a large patronage from North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Arkansas, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama. The daughter of Bishop Wightman, grand-daughter of Bishop Capers and other eminent men the very best of the land were gathered in its spacious halls. After two years of incumbency, because of his ill health, President Smith tendered

his resignation and was succeeded by Rev. Tracy R. Walsh, another eminent minister of the South Carolina Conference. Allow me to remark in passing, that all this section of North Carolina at that time was attached to the South Carolina Conference. In 1870 the State line between North and South Carolina was made the Conference line.

During Mr. Walsh's administration the College had a visitation of measles. At the suggestion of Doctor William L. Kendall to prevent spreading, segregation was resorted to with marked success; the girls being domiciled in the homes of William Little, Maj. Cole, Col. Smith, Dr. Watkins and other citizens of the village. In 1854 a veritable scourge of typhoid fever visited the College. Segregation was resorted to, and again without remuneration, reward or the hope of reward, the villagers opened their doors to those afflicted girls that could be moved. Seven young ladies died in the College building and two in private homes. There were no trained nurses in those days, but these young ladies were tenderly, faithfully nursed by Aunt Polly Mendenhall, Jane Watkins, Charlotte Tyson, Sarah Little, Eliza Sydnor Smith and others in the College building and in their own private homes. There were living good women in those days of affliction and distress. Giving attention to the sick by day and all through the night, supplying their wants, closing the eyes of the dying amid tears of anguish and sorrow. Angels of goodness and mercy! Praises, ecomiums and commendations too great cannot be bestowed. And they were our mothers! This visitation of typhoid was a hard blow to the young, flourishing Institution. Nothing daunted the authorities pursued the even tenor of their ways. Two years afterwards the College had regained its patronage and its halls rang with tripping footsteps, dancing eyes, cheery voices and merry laughter. Sad to relate another epidemic of typhoid fever claimed its victims both in the school and in the village. This second visitation of fever was a serious calamity, its thronging numbers dwindled, but the Institute gradually recovered its prestige and patronage.

Now for an historical sidelight calamitous in its effect.

Carolina Female College was a corporation, its stock being owned by the citizens of the village and adjoining section. In those days politics ran high. The Whigs were in large numerical majority and owned controlling interest, mostly in small blocks. The Democrats could be counted on one's fingers, but they were prominent, wealthy and influential.

One of the Professors was a well posted Whig, a good talker and easily get the better of his Democratic opponent in political argument. This displeased the Democrats and they determined to fill his chair with a gentleman of their own party. Counting noses, as the politicians say, they found themselves lacking a controlling interest and proceeded quietly to purchase a majority of stock and another filled the professor's chair. The retiring professor J. K. B. was promptly elected to the presidency of Wofford College, Spartanburg, S. C. This conduct of the Democrats engendered dissatisfaction and hostility. The Chairman and other Whig members of the Board of Trustees resigned, took their daughters out of the college and sent them elsewhere. One family connection sent eleven girls to Greensboro Female College. The division and enmity thus engendered by politics was fatal to the Institution. We can but regret the bane and ban of politics, such as arraigns trustee against trustee, neighbor against neighbor and friend against friend.

The stately deer was badly wounded by the first visitation of typhoid fever, before it had fully recovered, it received a more serious stab by the second scourge of this disease, and the malign tragedy of baneful politics gave the beautiful fawn a solar plexus blow and Carolina Female College died for lack of patronage. President Tracy R. Walsh again joined the itinerant ranks of his church, being stationed at Charleston, S. C. The citizens of Ansonville and adjacent country determined to revive the Institution.

Col. Wm. G. Smith, the first Chairman of the Trustees, under whose administration the College began its sessions so au-

spiciously and thrived so greatly that an extension became necessary and a large wing was added to the main building; Col. Smith was again called to leadership in the hope of reviving the Institution. Rev. J. R. Griffith was elected President and the doors of the College opened. Again the chatter of playful girls filled the halls. He was succeeded by J. R. Blankenship of Virginia. The war of the sixties was on, the heart of the South was in the war. Devotion, zeal and every energy given to the Confederacy. Appomattox came. Reconstruction inaugurated. Our noblest and most prominent were disfranchised and reduced to poverty and slavery. Once more the spacious halls were deserted and "Carolina Female College" passed into history.

A sad incident of the College days was connected with Miss Martha Godbolt. She, with her sister in a carriage after Commencement, was returning to her home and loved ones in South Carolina. Passing through the old William Little place, situated on the high plateau between the north and south prongs of Jones Creek in Anson County, N. C., she took special notice of the well-kept family cemetery and remarked to her sister, "I would like to be buried in that beautiful spot." Inside of 10 minutes the horses ran away, down the steep incline of the south prong of Jones Creek. She jumped from the carriage onto a rock and was instantly killed. Her sister remained in the carriage and escaped unhurt. Her last wish was observed by her parents and she awaits the resurrection morn in the old William Little Family Cemetery.

Miss Maggie Parker, graduating in 1857, was afterwards engaged to be married to a man from Georgia.

"Why comes he not at eventide,
To claim his lady for his bride?"

The appointed hour arrived, the bride was robed for the wedding ceremony with her maids around her, when informed her affianced had married another. The shock caused her

death. The dastardly, despicable deceiver! It is gratifying to know that she escaped living a life of unhappiness with such a contemptible scoundrel.

And Joshua said, "Behold this day I am going the way of all the earth." So Annie Lurk said to her room-mate that she would die that day. The ground was all white, covered by "the snow, the beautiful snow." At high noon she put on a large apron, gathered a great ball of snow, took it to her room, concealed under her apron; made a bowl of snow cream, ate to repletion and died before night with a frozen heart.

Who can explain telepathy, mind communications, subconscious revelations? Captain Freeman, Company C, 14 Reg. N. C. V., on the morning of the Battle of The Wilderness Church told his comrades the impending battle would be his last fight. He was killed by a ball through the heart that day.

Let us not dwell longer on the tragedies of life but recite some of the amusing incidents. Nostalgia or home-sickness is a very serious trouble common to both sexes. When you saw a boy in the Confederate Army taking no part in the playful exercises of his comrades, but rather avoiding them, sitting alone with head hung down, looking outcast and forsaken, you may know he was homesick and unless aroused he would pine away and die. Rebecca Easterling, a girl from South Carolina, became so homesick she ran away, taking the road leading to her home. She was overtaken and brought back to the College. As a forerunner of the militant suffragist propaganda, she attempted to influence the College authorities by refusing to eat, starving herself several days. She rallied, became a leader in mischief and in playing practical jokes on her mates. Retiring one night she saw two of her room-mates fast asleep. She tied their toes together and awaited results. Waking they discovered something wrong. Not waiting to investigate they began screaming, aroused others who joined in their shrill cries, one of them hollering fire! Fire! fire! was repeated till the entire building was aroused, the girls and the teachers turning

out in dishabille. They were a crestfallen lot when they understood it was all a mistake, false alarm occasioned by the fright of two silly girls with their toes tied together.

Girls will be girls, boys will be boys; girls and boys were in the beginning, are now and ever will be. Many letters, bouquets, packages of fruit and candies passed between lovers by the underground railroad, contrary to the rules of the College and watchful eyes of the teachers. Misses K. R. of Cheraw, S. C., and N. G., of Mt. Gilead, N. C., sent bouquets to two boys, C. D. and S. C., of the village. The girls filled the flowers with snuff and powdered Cayenne pepper. The proud boys thrust their noses into the flowers and with deep breath inhaled the sweetness. A stifling buring sensation of snuff and pepper lingered long on the delicate membranes of the olfactory nerves. A few hundred yards from the College a bold spring ran its southwest course to Palmetto Creek. The bay is a species of magnolia, with pure white, velvety blossoms, very sweet scented. Here only the bay flourished in many, many miles. Beautiful nature yielded to the devastating progress of agriculture and the bay is found no more in our midst. But to return to our incident. These two boys gathered a large bouquet of bays, captured a lizard, tied it with a lute string blue ribbon at one end and the bouquet with the other end. The bouquet was handed the two girls in front of the College building amidst a crowd of girls, with request they divide it between them. This they proceeded to do when out sprang the lizard onto the hand, ran up the arm to the shoulder, around the neck and sprang the length of its tether to the great dismay and terror of the girls. Too affrightened to run they could but lift their skirts and scream.

In the palmy days of the village, there was a string band, composed of fiddlers, guitars and flute. Arthur Wheless, leading violinist; his brother John, second; W. A. Threadgill, third; Dolph and John Waddell, guitars and another the flute. This band often serenaded the residences of the village never omitting

the College. Music is sweeter when it comes stealing over the senses at night filling the air with concord of sweet sounds.

“Here will we sit, and let the sounds of music
Creep in our ears: soft stillness of the night
Become the touches of sweet harmony.”

Lovers often accompanied the serenaders. Wine, cake and other refreshments was the reward to the band at the village homes. While the band was partaking the boys had their innings with the girls. No refreshments were ever served at the College. While the band was serenading the President's house the boys talked to the girls in the college windows. One dark night while thus engaged, up walked the President. The boys ran, the girls hastily cleared the windows of their presence and never would disclose the punishment meted out to them.

Among the students from South Carolina was Miss Fanny McLoud, a large, lively, jolly, buxom girl of great strength. Her figure, Grecian in form, the lines of her body a model for the artist and with beautiful features. She would gather around her a number of girls and entertain them with stories. “Once upon a time,” she would say, “a handsome prince went to a lawn party. Attracted by his elegance, the girls left their swains and gathered closely around him. Wanting room and air, he threw out his arms and whirled around.” Suiting action to words, extending her arms, whirling around would knock sprawling the girls within her reach.

Uncle Jere Ingram, seeing her on the campus was struck with her beauty and magnificent proportions, said “When Polly dies I'm going to make her my second wife.” He sent her baskets of choice fruits. His remark about his second wife came to her ears. One day he drove his oxcart to the village. He sat on the cart tongue barefooted, his pants rolled up nearly to the knees, his sleeves to the elbows, his shirt unbuttoned, exposing his ruddy chest. Seeing him, she exclaimed, “I hope

Polly will live always." Mollie Leak and another girl seeing his cart under a tree in the shade, decided to take a ride. The oxen took the road home. Buffalo Creek was bridged, embankments eight or ten feet high. Arriving at the bridge, the day hot, the thirsty oxen ran down the embankment to the water, and overturned the cart. Fortunately they escaped with bruises but limped two miles back home. One day Uncle Jere, sitting on his cart tongue as usual, approached a large mudhole in the road. He hollowed to his oxen, "Gee! Gee!" but they did not "gee." Hitting one of them a vicious blow with a stick, he lost his balance, fell from the tongue and a wheel ran over him. He escaped a broken limb by the mud being soft and yielding. Picking himself up out of the mud, hastily limping along, he exclaimed, "I reckon the next time I say " 'Gee' you'll gee!"

George D. Boggan, the hotel proprietor, possessed two large billy goats. Running at large they were the terror of the village. One of them got into the campus, mounted the stairs into the hallway of the college building, up the stairs he went to the second floor, on up to the third floor and entered a large front room occupied by Miss Fannie McLoud and others. The frightened girls gathered around her for protection. She, cool and collected ordered them to get the bed slats and expel him from the room. After him they went. Seeing the light of an open window he made for it and leaped. When he struck the ground he uttered a "ba, baa, baa," bobbed his head and said, "bi, bi, bit," and off he went. These goats were sold to the Bob Ridley Circus exhibited at Wadesboro, only 10 miles away in a cage marked "Rocky Mountain Goats."

Martha Smith and Lou Mendenhall composed the first graduating class. The latter married Dr. Godbolt of South Carolina. The former was the daughter of Dr. Alexander Smith, the first president of the Institution, and married Eben Nelme, Esq. The uncle of the writer, afterwards became the Captain

of a Company in the Confederate Army from the State of Mississippi. The College building situate amidst the beautiful and spacious campus of grand old oaks, is still in fair repair, the property of a private owner, its rooms leased to private families.

Some day may we hope it will be restored to its original use and pristine glory.

RACE AND REHABILITATION

By COLLIER COBB

Address before the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, at Old Fort Raleigh, Roanoke Island, North Carolina, VIRGINIA DARE DAY, August 18, 1923. From a shorthand report.

A Sunday school scholar in a Virginia town, when asked, "Who was the first man?" promptly answered, "George Washington." "No; Adam," said the teacher; when the boy at once replied, "Foreigners don't count."

That has been very much our attitude towards Virginia Dare, whom we have often claimed as "the first white child born in America." I congratulate the Roanoke Colony Memorial Association, however, on having placed upon this monument the truth and nothing but the truth, about "Virginia Dare, the first child of English parents born in America."

Massachusetts also lays claim to the first white child born in America, Snorre, son of Thorfin Karlsefne and his wife Gudrida, who spent three years in Vinland, where the child was born at Norembega, near the present city of Cambridge. Whatever may be said of the Saga of Eric the Red, we now know that the old stone tower at Newport, Rhode Island, long thought to be the work of Norsemen, was a mill built by Governor Arnold, mentioned as such in his will; and that the singular inscription on the rock at Dighton was probably made by Indians. The evidence on which this claim rests is still within the realm of mythology rather than history.

Santa Fé, New Mexico, believed to be the oldest city in the United States, has also laid claim to this distinction. In 1541 this place was a thrifty Indian pueblo, with a population of about 15,000. The Church of San Miguel was erected about 1550, the governor's palace was put up about 1598, and the Cathedral of San Francisco was built around a similarly named

structure whose records go back as far as 1622. The early Spanish occupations of the area were only temporary, the colonists were without European wives, and it was not until 1692 that the Spaniards acquired anything like control of the town, which they now occupied with their wives and children, and maintained until 1821, when Mexico won its independence from Spain.

St. Augustine, Florida, has set up a similar claim. This city was founded by Menendez in 1565, who, leaving his large flag-ship at anchor outside, and accompanied by his chaplain entered the estuary in a palace-like barge rowed by six oarsmen, and followed by other boats filled with "gentlemen" and ecclesiastics, took formal possession of the country in the name of Philip of Spain. From this spot he marched to the destruction of the Huguenots, who had built a fort and settled on the St. John, and there the unfortunate Ribault and his followers were slain. These Frenchmen and their Spanish butchers both reached Florida in the same year, and members of neither party brought their wives with them.

It has always been the usual thing for men of the Latin races to marry women of the lands they conquered; but it has generally been quite otherwise with men of British origin. The Britisher brought his wife with him, or later sent home for her. How fortunate for North Carolina and for the greater part of North America that this is true! The odds are greatly in favor of the usual statement that Virginia Dare is the first white child born in America.

The Britisher's propensity to mate only with his own kind leads one to question the claims of the so-called "Croatans" of Robeson County that they are descended from John White's "Lost Colony of Roanoke." The "fair Roman letters, C. R. O.," carved upon a tree, the fact that "one of the chief trees or posts at the right side of the entrance had the bark taken off, and five feet from the ground, in fair capital letters, was graven CROATAN, without any cross or sign of distress," indicated

to John White and Ralph Lane that they had gone to live among their friends, the Hatteras Indians at Croatan. It is not unlikely that some of the sailors took Indian wives, as some of these Hatteras Indians told Lawson, more than a hundred years after the events just narrated, "that several of their ancestors were white people and could talk in a book as we do; the truth of which is confirmed by gray eyes being found frequently among these Indians and no others."

The great anxiety of Lane and others to get into naval engagements with the richly-laden Spanish merchantmen, makes his narrative of the expedition a very unsatisfactory one. It is evident that no thorough search was made for the lost colonists. In physique the Bankers, or dwellers on the sand-reefs that border our coast, are like the men of Devonshire even to this day; and in their manners, customs, and speech may be found much to suggest the England of the Virgin Queen.* A number of years ago, the late Professor Shaler, returned from a portion of his sabbatical year spent in England, said to me that not a county in England had so large a proportion of its citizens of British origin as did middle and eastern North Carolina, if you omit the descendants of African slaves.

How fortunate for America that this child was born of English parents! That the opposite sides of our narrowest ocean should be largely in the possession of such a progressive race! This brings with it unusual obligations. Consider the pronounced insular mind of the globe-trotting Englishman, the deep-settled local conservatism characterizing his world-colonizing nation, at once the most provincial and the most cosmopolitan on earth. Emerson said with truth, "Every one of these islanders is an island himself, safe, tranquil, incomunicable." They are the butt of every man's joke, and the

*See "Early English Survivals on Hatteras Island," by Collier Cobb, *University of North Carolina Magazine*, February, 1910. *The North Carolina Review*, March 6, 1910. *The North Carolina Booklet*, xiv, 91-99, October, 1914.

object of everybody's criticism. They have nevertheless led the world's march of progress. Scattered by their colonial and commercial enterprises over every zone, in every clime, subjected to the widest range of modifying environments, they show in their ideals the dominant influences of the home country. The trail of their educational system can be followed over the Empire, east to New Zealand and west to Vancouver, around the Caribbean, through the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, skirting all of Asia and threading the East Indies, and accomplishing the peaceful penetration of Africa. This insular Englishman is at home alike in the Arctic and in the Antarctic; and while his insularity of mind seems to justify Bernard Shaw's description of Britain as an island whose natives regard its manners and customs as laws of nature, he has a comprehension of and a grasp upon the earth and its inhabitants that men of other nations cannot understand. He is preëminently the colonizer, the land-grabber, if you will, and the men of his race have led the world in the earth-sciences, geology and geography.

The men of this breed may be found cultivating the Nile Valley, trapping and trading on the snow-bound Hudson Bay, tending flocks on the grasslands of Australia, pasturing their herds like lowland shepherds or American cowboys, or lolling in the tropics like the natives; but they manage to do a white man's work wherever you find them.

They have generally explored and added to their Empire the sparsely settled or unoccupied lands of the globe; they have granted to subject peoples all the self-determination of which they were capable, and have gradually led them to fit themselves for self-government in virtually independent states within the Empire. The *provincialism* of the Englishman has its uses.

Self-determination in religion, too, allowed by a land with an Established Church, is without a parallel in any other political group. One of England's greatest statesmen has said:

"While England has a State Church, it never interferes with any man's religion or his politics." The hand of the Free Churches is seen in every movement within the nation since the Commonwealth. If a Christian on the continent of Europe finds that he must deny the authority of the Roman Catholic Church, or of the Orthodox Russian Church, or that he cannot accept belief in a State Church, he is practically non-churched. But among Anglo-Saxon peoples the man who is not a Roman Catholic, or an Anglican, may still be a Churchman, in communion with the Universal Church.

Competition in well-doing among the various religious denominations in Anglo-Saxon lands has led to a high moral tone and a maximum of social service unknown in lands dominated by a single religious group. The Orthodox Russian Church has not been a great uplifter of the people in Russia and Siberia; but its devoted missionaries in Alaska and in Japan are a credit to any ecclesiastical organization or to any land. The Russian Cathedral is the most outstanding ecclesiastical building in Tokio. From the eminence on which it stands it seems to dominate the whole city. It is generally called The Nicolai Church, a tribute to the personality of the Bishop who founded it.

Similarly the Roman Catholic Church in tropical South America hardly approaches the ideals of its best friends and well-wishers; but in Alaska, in portions of China, and in Japan, it leaves little, if anything, to be desired. Let us, then, be appropriately thankful for our Anglo-Saxon heritage! Any kind of political meeting or any sort of religious assemblage is granted complete freedom of speech and police protection in London, England, or in Boston, Massachusetts.

"Self-determination for all peoples" is the iridescent dream of the philanthropic theorist, with no first-hand knowledge of any but the most cultured nations. No one would advocate student self-government in the kindergarten; it is not an unqualified success in the university. The world is full of ethnic

groups, and even of political units, still in the childhood of their development—yes, sometimes in an nth childhood; and these groups are as incapable of self-government as is the kindergarten.

There are many who believe that the hope of the world does not lie in democracy—because the complications of civilization make mass-verdict of value only in the simpler issues—but lies rather in an aristocracy of leadership, recruited from all classes of society on the basis of merit.

Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa are practically independent nations. The people of India and of Egypt have been far better off as subjects of the British Empire than they ever were under their native princes. England has blundered in her dealing with Turkey, and in the government she is giving the people of British North Borneo. But the mettle of the breed is shown in their comeback after disaster, with an entire absence of self-pity and of whining; and this has never been shown better than in our own South's rehabilitation of herself after the American Civil War. Blood will tell. The comeback of England since the World War is more marked than that of her allies or her enemies on the continent of Europe.

“In Japan, isolation has excluded or reduced to controllable measure every foreign force that might break the continuity of the national development or invade the integrity of the national ideal.” Japan has always borrowed freely from neighboring Asiatic countries; yet everything in Japan bears the stamp of the indigenous. The introduction of foreign culture into the Empire has been a process of selection and profound modification to accord with the nation’s ideals and needs. The islands of Japan, like the British Isles, have been a nursery and disseminator of a distinctive and worth-while civilization, and they hold very much the same relation to continental Asia that the British Isles hold to Europe. Human life and property are safe anywhere that the British flag flies; and one may

feel safe anywhere in Asia that he sees the flag of the Empire of the Rising Sun.

Two years ago, in Tokio, a large gathering of students, influenced by the yellow journals of both countries, were discussing excitedly an imminent war between their country and ours, when a gray-haired statesman arose and said: "Having witnessed the suicide of civilization in Europe, instead of discussing war with America, young gentlemen, we should be considering how we may coöperate with our neighbor across the Pacific for the rehabilitation of the world." The effect was immediate; the noisy assembly quietly dispersed. This question is with us today. While rumors of wars are coming from Europe, we should be considering with our kindred across the Atlantic and with our neighbors across the Pacific how we may coöperate for the rehabilitation of the world. And who are our neighbors?

Interest in the early English efforts, or successes, at colonization in America is found wherever the English language is spoken. I say English rather than British, for the flag under which the Raleigh voyagers sailed bore the red cross of Saint George, the cross of Saint Andrew not having been added at that time.

The Prince Society of Boston has placed a Raleigh Memorial Window in Saint Margaret's Chapel, Westminster. The trustees of the Tate Gallery, London, have hung upon the walls of that gallery (at a cost of \$10,000) the painting of the "Boyhood of Sir Walter Raleigh," by Sir John Everett Millais. The Red Men have placed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, a bronze statue of Massasoit, the Wampanoag sachem, though it seems to me that Samoset, the petty chief who welcomed the English to Plymouth, should have been selected for such honor.

Here at this Old Fort Raleigh is an excellent opportunity for the Nation, for the State, for such patriotic organizations as the Colonial Dames of America, for liberal individuals all

over this broad land who delight in rendering service, to lend a hand, and develop here on Roanoke Island a memorial worthy of the race that for four hundred years has led the world in all good works. The fifteen thousand dollars that have already been raised for this purpose is but a mere beginning. This should be developed into a beautiful National Monument. Some statuary would not be out of place: Sir Walter Raleigh, Manteo the Lord of Roanoke, Virginia Dare (something like Miss Louise Lauder's beautiful statue made just thirty years ago), or any number of good things that Dr. Drane might suggest to you. No worthier memorial could be found than that suggested by the late W. J. Peele of Raleigh, and now revived by the Hon. Theodore Meekins of Manteo, that there be established here a technical school teaching the arts and sciences which relate to obtaining wealth from the sea, such as fish-breeding, ship-building, navigation, and the like. Either, or, better, both of these suggestions might be given careful consideration.

NORTH CAROLINA TROOPS AT GETTYSBURG

Address of Chief Justice Walter Clark before N. C. Confederate Veterans Association, Durham, N. C., 24 August, 1921.

It is peculiarly appropriate that this meeting of the State Veterans Association should assemble in Durham. This spot, so to speak, is centrally located in connection with the most stirring event of the great War Between the States. Two hundred miles almost due south of us the great war opened when the first shot was fired at Charleston, 12 April, 1861. Four years later, almost to a day, on 9 April, 1865, less than one hundred miles due north of this place, the last charge was made by the immortal Army of Northern Virginia, by North Carolinians, and the silver-throated cannon sobbed themselves into silence amid the hills of Appomattox. Three miles west of this place the surrender of the sole remaining great army of the Confederacy was signed between Sherman and Johnston. Besides, there is no town anywhere that will give you or any guests a more generous reception than Durham—"Renowned the world around."

With North Carolina soldiers there will ever abide the recollection that the greatest friend of the Confederate soldiers of North Carolina since the war, has been a resident of this city—long the head of the Veterans of this State and the distinguished general-in-chief of the Confederate Veterans Association of the Army of Northern Virginia, Gen. Julian S. Carr.

STATE'S GREAT WAR RECORD

Sixty years have passed since the great War Between the States began. I am glad to see present so many survivors of those four eventful years, the memory of which can never be forgotten. We cannot forget that North Carolina sent to that great struggle more men than any other Southern State, and

that with a voting population of 115,000 she placed in line of battle, first and last, nearly 130,000 of her sons. When the war opened, by the firesides and on the playgrounds of North Carolina there were boys of 13 years of age, and the official records show that in 1865 nearly 5,000 of these boys then stood in the ranks of the Confederacy, having reached the age of 17—and they were then Veterans. At Belfield, Va., in the battle with the Federal fleet at Fort Branch on the Roanoke, at Southwest Creek, below Kinston, in both bombardments of Fort Fisher, in the great three-days battle at Bentonville, when Johnston flung his army across the victorious pathway of Sherman to bid him halt and he obeyed him—on these and other occasions these young veterans proved themselves heroes worthy to be the brothers and sons of those men who for four long years in the Army of Northern Virginia, and in the Army of the West, had been a lance-head of iron tempered in the fire of battle. In the last year of the war the age limit for soldiers was extended to 50, so it may be literally said that from 13 to 50 years of age, North Carolina was in the war and her 130,000 soldiers were the backbone of the Confederacy.

Col. Fox, in his great work, "Regimental Losses," shows from the official records that North Carolina lost 14,452 killed in battle, 5,151 died of wounds, and 20,602 died of disease, a total of 40,305, which additional returns increased to 43,000, that is to say that of every three men North Carolina sent to the front one-third came not home again.

No one will disparage for a moment the courage, the steadfastness, the loyalty of the Confederate soldiers from Virginia or any other State, but we may measure the sacrifices made by this State by citing from the same work, giving the figures from U. S. official records. Virginia lost 5,328 killed in battle, 2,519 died of wounds, 6,947 died of disease, a total of 14,794. The State which next to North Carolina lost the most men was Georgia.

THE CAUSE OF VIRGINIA'S SMALLER LOSSES

Some allowance must be made for the smaller number of deaths from wounds and disease among the Virginians from the fact that they were nearer home and could have more prompt attention from their home people, and so large a proportion of the State being overrun by the enemy also reduced the number she had in battle.

These things are from the official records and are not given as any reflection upon Virginia, whose soldiers, as all the world knows, did their full and complete duty. But it is proper to recall the facts here, in your hearing, that your children and your children's children may remember that in that supreme test of war and battle North Carolina and her soldiers did their full duty and can compare with the noblest sacrifices of patriotism recorded of any people.

At Chancellorsville, as the official records of the Confederacy on file at Washington testify, North Carolina lost almost as many killed and wounded as all the other Southern states combined, 39 U. S. Official Records, 806-809. At the great battle at Gettysburg, which many esteem the decisive battle of the war, 2,592 Confederates were killed, of whom 770 were from North Carolina, 435 Georgians, 399 from Virginia, 258 Mississippians, 217 from South Carolina, and 204 Alabamians, that is to say, nearly twice as many from this State as were lost by the great State of Virginia, 43 U. S. Official Records, 338-346.

By many, Gettysburg is regarded as the decisive battle, the turning point, the high water mark of the Confederacy. Such it was by reason of the moral effect. But in fact, taken alone, it was not a victory for either side and was one of the most indecisive great battles of the war. The Federals lost more men killed and wounded than the Confederates and though the charge on the third day did not succeed, the enemy dared not make a counter charge. Lee remained the whole of the next day occupying his ground and retreated on the night following

for the same reason that largely caused the charge to fail, i.e., for lack of ammunition and the difficulty of getting sufficient supplies by the long round about route, when the Federals were close to their base of supplies at Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. Indeed, they were much nearer Richmond than our army. It was therefore but prudence to place ourselves nearer our base.

ALL DID THEIR DUTY

I am not asked, however, to discuss the battle of Gettysburg in all its details nor to consider the moral effect of our failure to achieve our objective which doubtless included a march on Philadelphia and the capture of Baltimore and Washington. My subject is "The North Carolina Soldiers at Gettysburg," but is not limited to the Pettigrew charge of the third day. I include their record during the entire three days—1, 2, and 3 July. It should be said once for all that the conduct of all the troops from all of the Southern States, and indeed on both sides, reflects honor upon the American soldier. They did their duty as men. There were mistakes on both sides, as there always is in battle, for both were groping in the dark in the effort to divine, or guess, the situation, the forces, and the intentions of the enemy. As a great general said, "I could always win if I only knew what was on the other side of that hill."

We had no flying machines in those days and the usual means of ascertaining the movements and the forces of the enemy was by the cavalry, of which General Lee was deprived by the absence of his cavalry under Stuart, who had not been able to resist the temptation to capture the enemy's long supply trains filled with immense quantities of provisions and army supplies of all kinds. It is on record that when chance intimation came that the enemy's advanced forces were at Gettysburg General Lee and all his high officers were utterly unable to believe it. They thought the Federal army was still far away hovering for the protection of Washington and Baltimore, and doubted even if it had crossed the Potomac.

In 1893 I was on a commission of Confederate soldiers appointed, at the request of Federal authorities, to aid in locating the position of the Confederate troops at Sharpsburg and Gettysburg. I was in the same carriage going into Gettysburg with Major-General Heth, going over the Confederate line of approach. His division had opened the fight at the crossing of Willoughby Run three miles west of Gettysburg on 1 July. Pulling out a large silver watch he said, "By that watch the battle of Gettysburg opened." Having been sent down to Cashtown to get some shoes for his troops, and utterly ignorant, as General Lee himself was, of the nearness of the enemy, owing to the absence of our cavalry, he ran into the Federal troops. Retracing his steps he marched toward Gettysburg, coming in contact with the Federal advance force under General John F. Reynolds (who by the way was a native of Gettysburg), he ordered the advance across Willoughby Run on the other side of which, in the woods, was the famous Wisconsin "Iron Brigade" under Meredith. General Reynolds was killed and General Heth was wounded. Pettigrew took command of the division. Pettigrew's brigade was about 3,000 strong. In the 26th N. C. Regiment in that brigade 12 color bearers had been shot down, when the gallant colonel of that regiment, Henry K. Burgwyn, only 21 years of age, seizing the flag to carry it forward, was killed, the flag wrapping him in its folds as he fell. The Iron Brigade, which was in his front, was almost annihilated. The other three regiments of the brigade, the 11th, 47th, and 52d N. C., also suffered heavily. Pettigrew's N. C. brigade lost not a single prisoner, but it lost in killed and wounded, at that spot, 1,000 to 1,100, including a number of its best officers.

In the 3 days, 1 to 3 July, the 26th North Carolina regiment lost 549 out of 800 present. The 11th N. C. regiment lost 250 out of 550 and of the 5 field officers of these two regiments present, 5 were killed or wounded and Col. Leventhorpe of the 11th was wounded and Major Ross killed. The other two

regiments, the 47th N. C. and 55d N. C., suffered but not so severely. The 44th N. C. regiment of this brigade had been left in Virginia to guard the crossing of the North Anna River and hence was not in the battle.

THE OTHER NORTH CAROLINA BRIGADES ON THE FIRST DAY

On 1 July General Lee's army was being concentrated upon Gettysburg, but was scattered over a radius from 5 to 25 miles. The 1st and 11th corps of Meade's army were 5 and 10 miles off, respectively, and his other corps were further off. About 9 o'clock, Heth's division advancing from Cashtown came in contact, on the Chambersburg Pike, with Buford's cavalry of 3,000 men, and at 2 p.m. Heth made the above attack upon Meredith's brigade in the McPherson woods, in which Reynolds was killed.

At that hour Rodes' division of five brigades (three of them, Daniel's, Iverson's and Ramseur's, from North Carolina) were on the march from Carlisle south to Gettysburg. At the sound of Heth's battle they turned off at Heydlersburg and marched to the sound of the cannon as Desaix did at Marengo and reached the Mummasburg road (which approaches Gettysburg from the northwest), about a half-mile from where that road crosses Seminary Ridge and formed line of battle. Iverson's brigade was on the right and attacked the Union line. Daniel's brigade, which marched in Iverson's rear, moved to the right and struck the enemy, who, changing front, had formed in a railroad cut. Daniel there suffered very heavy loss. Ramseur's brigade then joined up to the left of Iverson and went into the fight. Stone's Federal brigade in the railroad cut was attacked by Daniel with the 45th N. C. regiment and the 2d N. C. battalion, who drove them out. Reforming his brigade, Daniel followed the enemy, who had rallied on Seminary Hill. Pender's division, including Scales' and Lane's N. C. brigades, joined in the attack upon the enemy near the Theological Seminary. General Scales was wounded and the

brigade was badly shattered. In the meantime, Hoke's brigade had arrived in Early's division from York and attacked the enemy to the left of the town, almost simultaneously with the attack by Pender along Seminary Ridge.

In the first day's battle 17 brigades were engaged on our side, being in the divisions of Rodes, Early, Heth, and Pender, but three of these brigades only nominally participated.

Of the 14 Confederate brigades actually engaged in the battle on the first day, North Carolina furnished six and one-half, Pettigrew's and Daniel's brigades being the two largest in the Confederate army. North Carolina also had one regiment, 55th N. C., in Davis' brigade, which was actually engaged. The loss of the North Carolina brigades in the first day's battle was 590 killed and 2,450 wounded. The loss of all other Confederate troops engaged on that day was 371 killed and 1,804 wounded. This analysis of losses is taken from 44 U. S. Official Records of the war, 338 et seq. We captured 5,150 prisoners at Gettysburg, nearly all of whom were captured on the first day.

THE SECOND DAY'S BATTLE

On the next day, 2 July, Iverson's brigade lay in the town of Gettysburg in a sunken road awaiting the order to attack Cemetery Heights. Daniel's brigade lay on Seminary Ridge all day, but after night was marched through the town to join our troops on Culp's Hill under Johnson. At daylight, 3 July, it was in a fearful engagement which it shared among others with the 1 and 3 N. C. regiments in G. H. Stuart's brigade. The loss of Daniel's brigade during the entire battle was 165 killed, 635 wounded, missing 116—total, 916. Ramseur's brigade on the second day was skirmishing on the southern edge of the town and on 3 July it lay in the sunken road southwest of town. There was no better brigade in the army.

Hoke's brigade, together with Hays' Louisiana brigade, at dark on the second day made the assault on east Cemetery

Heights where it was steepest and captured it, with the guns thereon, but were later driven out by superior numbers.

At an earlier hour General Pender was ordered to attack Cemetery Heights on the edge of town where the ascent was easy and could have easily carried it. If so, the enemy's army would have been cut in two and must have fallen back, but at 2:30 p.m., just as he was preparing to advance, he was struck from his horse by a fragment of shell, from which he died a few days later.

This fatality, like the shot which struck down Albert Sidney Johnson at Shiloh, when the enemy were retreating in utter confusion and the capture of both Grant and Sherman was a matter of minutes; and like the shot that struck Stonewall Jackson down at Chancellorsville when he was pursuing the fleeing enemy whom he was about to cut off from the U. S. ford—were all three occasions on which the Federal Army was saved from utter destruction. Another instance was the unaccountable inactivity of that genius of war, Stonewall Jackson, at the beginning of the Seven Days' battle around Richmond, when he should have crossed the Chickahominy at Glendale by which mistake McClellan's army escaped surrender. This was doubtless due to severe and sudden physical disability. Four times on four great battlefields of the Confederacy, the genius of its generals, and the valor of its soldiers were thus paralyzed when complete and final success seemed inevitable. Fortune "that name for the unknown combinations of an infinite power, was wanting to us and without her aid the designs of man are as bubbles on a troubled ocean."

Cemetery Ridge extends nearly two miles north and south from Cemetery Heights to Little Round Top and Big Round Top and here the Federal troops were posted for the next day's battle facing the Confederate line to the west. To our left from Cemetery Heights was Culp's Hill, which was partly occupied by both armies.

VIEWS OF CRITICS

It is easy to criticise a battle or any military movement with the full knowledge subsequently acquired of the situation and numbers on each side, but it must be remembered that both commanders are but slightly informed at the time and are groping where they do not know. Critics have pointed out that opposite our center at Cemetery Heights there was an easy, almost level route, by which, if our troops had pushed on, we would have entered the enemy's line on the second day and enfiladed it for its entire length southward, and that even if this was not perceived then early next morning if our guns had been ranged in a semicircle and had been concentrated on that spot they would have crushed the enemy's line north of, and also southward down Cemetery Ridge and the historic charge the third day need never have been made. The criticism may be just, for the enemy's line of battle was in the shape of a fishhook. This move seems clear now to any one knowing the locality and the situation of affairs. It is said that General Ewell, commanding the Confederate Corps at that spot having lost a leg previously, had not recovered his vitality, and his next in command, General Pender, a most able general, had been mortally wounded. If Stonewall Jackson had been there (who had been killed just 60 days previously), or if Stuart's cavalry had been on hand, the result of this battle and the future of the continent and of the world might have been entirely different. However, we can only know what happened and not what might have happened.

General Lee was unquestionably one of the great generals of history. Possibly Stonewall Jackson or Bedford Forest were greater military geniuses, but take him all in all the verdict of history has been, and will probably continue to be, that General Lee had no superior as a soldier in either army.

THE CHARGE ON CEMETERY RIDGE

With the lights before him General Lee decided that the enemy's line could be broken about midway Cemetery Ridge where the ground is nearly level. His own lines were 1,400 yards to the west. Under his direction our artillery opened with 140 guns upon the enemy's line at this point. The object of artillery in battle, of course, under these circumstances, is to break down the enemy's morale and when their ranks are sufficiently shaken then to advance the infantry to the assault. This charge General Lee assigned to Longstreet. There is ample evidence that Longstreet did not approve of the assault, did not deem it practicable and not only delayed in making the attack but when he did make it put in only half the troops that he should have sent forward.

Exactly at 1 o'clock p.m. the Confederate cannon opened. They ceased at 3 and the infantry promptly moved forward. On the right was Wilcox's Alabama and Perry's Florida brigades, under Wilcox, who lost the direction, and going too far to the right, struck into a ravine and finally got back to our lines without having been of material aid in the assault and with comparatively little loss. Next came Pickett's division of three brigades, all from Virginia, who had not been in the fighting at all on the other two days. In Pickett's first line were the brigades commanded by Kemper (afterwards the Governor of Virginia) and Garnett, and in the second line marched Armistead's brigade. General Armistead, with a few men from Pickett's division and a few from Pettigrew's division, crossed the wall at the angle. General Armistead was killed a few yards beyond it. Among the men of Pettigrew's division who crossed the wall at the angle was Captain Jo J. Davis of the 47th N. C. (afterwards Justice of our Supreme Court), who says he was captured a few yards beyond the wall and near where Armistead fell. This spot is marked by a memorial stone 31 yards beyond the wall. No one who

knew Judge Davis will question the entire accuracy of any statement he made.

Pickett commanded only the 3 Virginia brigades in his division and there was no reason why the assault should have ever been styled "Pickett's charge," except that the Richmond papers were anxious to boost him for promotion to Lieutenant-General and hence the unfounded charge by them that his division would have won out but for the conduct of the troops to the left of his division.

THE WORK OF PICKETT'S MEN

Pickett's men did all that could be asked of any troops. Virginia and the whole South have cause to be proud of them. Two of his brigadiers (Armistead and Garnett) were killed and Kemper was wounded. Pickett himself and his staff stopped at the Codori House, 600 yards from the wall, and did not cross the Emmetsburg Pike. Counting the two brigades to the right (under Wilcox) who cut little figure and the three brigades under Pickett (15 Virginia regiments) there were five brigades in the right wing of the charge.

To the left were six brigades, the dividing line striking the stone wall at the angle where the stone wall ran directly east 80 yards and then again due north, thus the wall in front of the left wing (in which were the 3 N. C. brigades and the N. C. regiment in Davis' brigade, altogether 15 N. C. regiments) was 80 yards farther east, i.e., farther to the front than where Pickett's 3 Virginia brigades struck the wall. In this left wing, in the front line were four brigades of Heth's division, commanded by Pettigrew (Heth having been wounded). They were, in order from right to left: Archer's, Tennesseans; Pettigrew's, North Carolina; Davis', Mississippi (in which was the 55th N. C.), and Brockenborough's Virginia brigade. Behind them in the second line marched Lane's and Scales' brigades, both from North Carolina.

Both wings of the entire line moved off together. The six brigades of the left wing under Pettigrew, kept abreast of those on their right. When they got in reach of the enemy's infantry, Pickett's second line, under Armistead, as always happens, moved up to fill the gaps in the front line and the same happened as to the second line under Lane and Scales on the left. At the angle, which was the dividing point between the two wings, a few Virginians got over the wall, but were quickly captured or killed and a few North Carolinians from Pettigrew on the left got over at the same angle with Judge Joseph J. Davis, as he states. The rest of Pettigrew's men who had not been killed or wounded, pressed on to the wall which was 80 yards farther in front of them, than was the wall in front of the Virginians. Captain Satterfield of the 55th N. C. regiment was killed and Lieutenant Falls and Sergeant Whitley, of the same regiment were wounded and taken prisoners at the foot of that wall, which was thus nearly 50 yards farther to the front than where Armistead fell, though he was beyond the wall.

ASSAILED BY FLANKING FIRE

Just at this juncture or a little before, the 8th Ohio regiment struck Brockenborough's Virginia brigade on the flank, which was the left brigade under Pettigrew, and caused it to fall back on Davis' Mississippi brigade, which in turn was partly broken, and on the right of Pickett's division the Federals opened an enfilading fire from the batteries on Little Round Top and also threw out a flanking body of infantry on the ground where Wilcox's command should have been and assailed Pickett on the right. Assailed also by a flanking infantry fire on the left of Pettigrew's command and by the artillery in front and on Little Round Top and fired on by the enemy's infantry in double rank behind the stone wall, in fact the charge dissolved and in a half hour from the moment it began there remained only the killed, the wounded and the prisoners.

The following official returns demonstrate the relative loss in this charge, Pickett's division of 15 regiments lost 1,499 men taken prisoners, 1,150 wounded, 214 killed and they lost 13 out of their 15 regimental flags. They went fresh into this fight, not having been engaged on either of the previous two days.

The five N. C. regiments in Pettigrew's division had been severely engaged in the first day's battle and their losses on the two days are not segregated, but we know that the five regiments lost at Gettysburg 1,303 killed and wounded, an average of 268 to the regiment, while Pickett's regiments averaged killed and wounded 91. There is the record.

NORTH CAROLINIANS DID THEIR DUTY

While no one will contend that this shows the slightest reflection on Pickett's men, it does prove conclusively that the North Carolinians did their duty. Pettigrew's brigade alone had 190 killed. Daniel's N. C. brigade, which fought on another part of the line, had 165 killed, while Pickett's entire division of three brigades had 214 killed. No brigade in Pickett's division lost as many killed and wounded as a single N. C. regiment (the 26th) in Pettigrew's brigade, which lost 86 killed and 502 wounded—the heaviest loss of any regiment on either side in any battle during the war.

The best proof how far a line of battle goes is where it leaves its dead and wounded, these derelicts of the bloody waves of war. The fact that Captain Satterfield and many other North Carolina dead and wounded were found at the foot of the wall on their front where the wall was 80 yards farther to the front than the wall which Pickett's division assailed, and over which no one crossed farther than General Armistead, who fell 31 yards beyond it, is conclusive proof, in this generous contest between the gallant men of the two states, that while all did their duty and there was glory enough for all, the North Carolinians beyond all question went farthest to the front at Gettysburg.

This is borne out also by the statement of the Federal officers who were facing the charge, by the statement in writing at the time by Lieutenant-Colonel John T. Jones, who came out of the charge in command of Pettigrew's brigade and other witnesses whose statements have been often published and which are easily accessible.

CHARGE EXCELLED ONLY BY THAT OF McDONALD

It was a gallant charge, excelled only by that of Marshal McDonald at Wagram and his charge was made with sufficient numbers and supported by artillery. At Gettysburg we charged 1,400 yards across an open field with less than 13,000 men, being half the number which General Lee directed. We moved forward before our guns had effectively shattered the morale of the enemy's infantry because of the scant supply of our ammunition. Furthermore we were not only under the fire of the enemy's guns in front, but Pickett's right flank was enfiladed by the batteries on Little Round Top and as our men neared the wall the Federal infantry assailed Pickett's right flank and Pettigrew's left flank.

General Lee promptly and magnanimously assumed the entire blame. No soldier at that time or since has criticised him for assuming that the brave men who had done such wonders under him were not equal to the impossible task he assigned them. This is no detraction from his fame nor from that of the brave soldiers who under his orders attempted the impossible.

SIZE OF THE ARMY

It may give us a better idea of the battle to state the numbers and losses in the two armies at Gettysburg as they have been very accurately summed up in that great work, "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," Vol. 3, p. 440. According to that statement, the "Federal Returns" show that the Union army had on 30 June "effectives for duty" on the day before the battle, 101,679. The loss of that army, according to the official

returns at the end of the three days, was 3,072 killed, 14,479 wounded, and 5,434 captured—a total loss of 23,003.

The Confederate strength, according to the same authority, was 70,000, including all arms, or over 30 per cent less than the Federal strength. The Confederate loss was 2,592 killed, 12,790 wounded, and 5,150 captured or missing, making a total of 20,451 being over 2,500 less than the Federals. But the Federal loss by straggling must have been excessively heavy, for at the council of war held in the Federal army by the seven corps commanders with Meade at the end of the second day's battle they reported only 58,000 men present, exclusive of cavalry, and their field returns for the infantry and artillery on 4 July, the day after the battle, was 56,138, exclusive of cavalry. 3 Battles and Leaders in Civil War, 440.

The Confederate army at this battle was divided into three Army Corps, which included infantry and artillery. These were: (1) Longstreet's corps, composed of the division of McLawns, with 4 brigades, Hood with 4 brigades, and Pickett with 3 brigades; (2) Ewell's corps with the divisions of Early, which had 4 brigades, Johnson with 4 brigades and Rodes with 5 brigades; and (3) Hill's corps with 3 divisions, Anderson's with 5 brigades, Heth's with 4 brigades, and Pender's division with 4 brigades. Thus the infantry and artillery were in three corps of three divisions each—nine in all—each division having four brigades except Pickett's, which had three brigades, and Rodes' and Anderson's divisions, which each had five brigades—a total of 37 brigades of infantry with artillery attached. The artillery was organized into 15 battalions of 4 batteries each under General Pendleton, which were assigned 5 battalions to each army corps, the total number of batteries was 69, with 287 guns, of which 30 were with the cavalry. The army was commanded by a full general (Lee); each army corps by a lieutenant-general and each division by a major-general, and each brigade by a brigadier-general. The brigades were composed usually of four regiments each.

Besides the above, the Confederate cavalry was organized into a division under Major-General J. E. B. Stuart with six brigades commanded at that time by Hampton, Robertson, Fitzhugh Lee, Jenkins, Jones and W. H. F. Lee.

The Federal army at Gettysburg was composed of 7 army corps besides the cavalry corps and the artillery reserve, but as the Federal organization was, as a rule, 4 regiments to a brigade, 2 brigades, sometimes 3, to a division, and 3 divisions to a corps, their army corps were, on an average, about half the number in each of ours. Their brigades were commanded by colonels, sometimes by brigadiers and their divisions, army corps, and armies were all commanded by major-generals, which was the highest rank in their army.

NORTH CAROLINIANS IN THE BATTLE

In this battle North Carolina had no infantry in Longstreet's corps. In Ewell's corps this State had Hoke's brigade in Early's division and the 3 brigades of Daniel, Iverson, and Ramseur in Rodes' division. In Hill's corps we had in Heth's division Pettigrew's brigade and 55 N. C. regiment in Davis' (Miss.) brigade, and in Pender's division there were the brigades of Lane and Scales, that is, 7 brigades out of 37. Besides these, there were 1st N. C. and 3d N. C. regiments in George H. Stuart's brigade and in the cavalry we had 4 N. C. regiments which were not at that time brigaded together (as they were later) and in the artillery we had the 4 batteries of Manly, Latham, Reilly and Graham, so that in fact North Carolina had 8 brigades of infantry, out of 37; one brigade of cavalry and a battalion of artillery—that is, we had over one-fifth of the soldiers present and our loss in killed and wounded was nearly a third of the whole number, very much more than a fourth.

While the troops of all the Southern states were good and certainly those from old North Carolina were second to none

in any respect, it did not escape notice then, and history need not suppress the fact now, that we did not have full recognition. Virginia, which great State furnished fewer troops than North Carolina and suffered far smaller loss in killed and wounded (figures already given), had just recognition in the great head of the army, General Robert E. Lee and another Virginian, Joseph E. Johnston, was in command of the Western Army, yet in addition at Gettysburg two out of the three corps commanders and 4 of the 9 generals of divisions were from Virginia, and another, Major-General J. E. B. Stuart was in command of the cavalry corps and General Pendleton was in command of all the artillery and General Imboden of all the cavalry that was not under Stuart; while North Carolina had only one major-general, General Pender, who was mortally wounded there and of whom General Lee said, regretfully, "General Pender never received his proper rank."

Our comrades who fell on so many fields of glory come back to us across the fields of yesterday, not as we see ourselves today, but as we knew and remember them, in all the splendor of their young manhood. Age has not withered them, time and trouble have not touched them. It was glorious for them to pass in the prime of their powers, with the sunlight of victory on their faces and fronting the morning. They died in the full assurance and confident hope of our ultimate success. They saw not the torn and tattered battle flags furled forever at Appomattox. The bugle did not ring out for them, as for us, the final call to stack arms. No drums beat for them the retreat. Their ears caught only the sound of the reveille. They live in immortal youth.

We had great generals but their fame rests upon the incomparable soldiery who made them great. The greatest figure of that great time was the "Confederate soldier" of whom it can be said; not in eulogy but in simple truth, that as long as the breezes blow, while the grasses grow, while the rivers run, his record will be summed up in eternal fame in this sentence:

"He did his duty."

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY NORTH CAROLINA STATE VETERANS
ASSOCIATION AT DURHAM 24 AUGUST, 1921.

The United Confederate Veterans Association of North Carolina, in convention assembled at Durham, N. C., 24 August, 1921, do resolve:

That the Legislature of North Carolina be and are hereby petitioned to authorize the State Historical Commission to place bronze tablets with suitable inscriptions to mark the spot at Gettysburg where North Carolina went "farthest to the front"; and where Hoke's brigade carried Cemetery Heights, and the battle on Culp's Hill; also to place similar tablets, with proper inscriptions, at the "Bloody Angle," at Spottsylvania, where so many North Carolinians laid down their lives on 12 May, 1864; at the spot where the North Carolina troops at Chancellorsville broke the enemy's right wing; also on the two memorable battlefields of Manassas, and at the most notable points calling for such distinction, in the battles around Richmond and Petersburg and at such other notable points which, in their judgment, call for like memorials on the other battle-fields of the Civil War.

THE GRAVE OF GENERAL FRANCIS NASH

(PUBLISHED BY REQUEST)

North Carolinians in Philadelphia and vicinity, said to number about five hundred, are, under the auspices of their association and the leadership of Mr. Jacob S. Allen, their president, paying homage to one of their Revolutionary heroes today under unique circumstances. A pilgrimage is being made to Kulpsville, in Montgomery County, and services will be held in the little Mennonite Church, to the honor of General Francis Nash, whose body lies in the burying ground hard by, his grave marked and honored by generations of Pennsylvanians for 145 years, and for many years distinguished by a stately monument erected by a people who were neither of his kith or kin. Only a few months ago Mr. Allen, accompanied by Colonel Bennehan Cameron of Stagville, North Carolina, a grand-nephew of General Nash, sought out his grave and conceived the thought that it would be a fitting honor for the Sons and Daughters of North Carolina to render their ancestral hero by this pilgrimage.

Colonel Francis Nash, of the First North Carolina Continentals, commissioned Brigadier General in the spring of 1777, marched his brigade, finally numbering 5,000 men, through Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, to the succor of Washington in that critical period of the patriot cause just preceding the winter of 1777-78. With his brigade of North Carolinians, he was at Brandywine, and again on October 4th, he was at Germantown, where his command suffered severely and Nash, himself, was struck by a cannon ball in the thigh. He was carried off the battleground and lingered for four or five days, during which Washington sent his surgeons in anxious solicitude for his recovery. His body was taken to Kulpsville and there in the burying ground of the Mennonites, was given a

hero's grave. Some years afterward, the father of the late Governor Pennypacker, led a patriotic movement for the recognition of this early hero from the Southland and raised the money in Germantown and Norristown for the erection of the monument.

A brother of General Nash became Governor of North Carolina, and a nephew, a son of the Governor, served long in high places of her judiciary system. It is said that at the close of the Revolutionary War, Washington, visiting in North Carolina, took the future Judge Nash on his knee and told him that he should be proud of his heroic uncle, whose body lay under Northern sod.

The North Carolina Society of Pennsylvania, organized but four years ago, for two years under the presidency of Mr. Gordon Cilley and now under that of Mr. Allen, is taking a particular interest in promoting the perfection of the North Carolina Bay in the Cloister of the Colonies at Valley Forge.

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DEPARTMENT OF WORLD WAR RECORDS, ESTABLISHED BY CHAPTER 144, PUBLIC LAWS OF 1919

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- (2) To publish a complete history of North Carolina in the World War.

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Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



Published Quarterly by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

C O N T E N T S

The Historic Tea-Party of Edenton.....	3
BY RICHARD DILLARD, A.M., M.D.	
North Carolina's Memorial at Valley Forge.....	15
BY MARY HILLIARD HINTON	
North Carolina Memorial at Valley Forge.....	17
BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD	
History Given of Valley Forge.....	25
BY CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE	
The Confederate States Navy Yard at Charlotte, N. C., 1862-1865.....	28
BY VIOLET G. ALEXANDER	
Traces of the Indian in Piedmont North Carolina.....	38
BY REV. DOUGLAS L. RIGHTS	
North Carolina and the Ulster Scot.....	51
BY PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D., D.C.L., LL.D.	
Marking the Ramsgate Road.....	57
The Ramsgate Road.....	61
SPEECH OF COLLIER COBB, MAY 17, 1924, AT UNVEILING OF MARKER	
Thomas and Henry John Burges.....	63
BY MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD	
Two Favorite Old Poems.....	76
BY VIOLET G. ALEXANDER	
Wakefield National Memorial Association.....	80
Spelling of Raleigh.....	86
BY NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON	
Marriage Bonds of Rowan County.....	88
Edgecombe County Records.....	95
Historical and Genealogical Memoranda.....	102
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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her"*

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**THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
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PRESIDENT OF THE EDENTON TEA-PARTY OF 1774
[From a portrait in the "Old Cupola House."]

The North Carolina Booklet

JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER, 1926
VOLUME XXIII, NUMBERS 1, 2, 3, 4

THE HISTORIC TEA-PARTY OF EDENTON

An Incident in North Carolina Connected with
British Taxation

By RICHARD DILLARD, A. M., M. D.

*Formerly a Member of the North Carolina
Historical Commission*

* ACITUS, appreciating the value of history to mankind, wrote, nearly twenty centuries ago, that its chief object was "to rescue virtuous actions from the oblivion to which the want of records would consign them."

Even in this practical, speculative age there seems to be a tendency all over our country to exhume from oblivion the events and traditions of our past. This growing reverence for American history is an evidence of increasing national intelligence, pride and dignity. Unfortunately for North Carolina, many of her most beautiful traditions have been allowed to pass unnoticed, and her glorious deeds regarded as mere ephemera to perish with the actors. The establishment of a chair of history at the State University, and the organization of the Historical Society will do much to develop and preserve our vast and valuable historic material. We must confess, and with mortification and chagrin, that in order to study any subject connected with State history intelligently, we have been obliged in the past to refer not only to the historical societies of other states, but even to the libraries of Europe.

It is the object of this paper to bring into light an exceptionally interesting and patriotic incident in North Carolina,

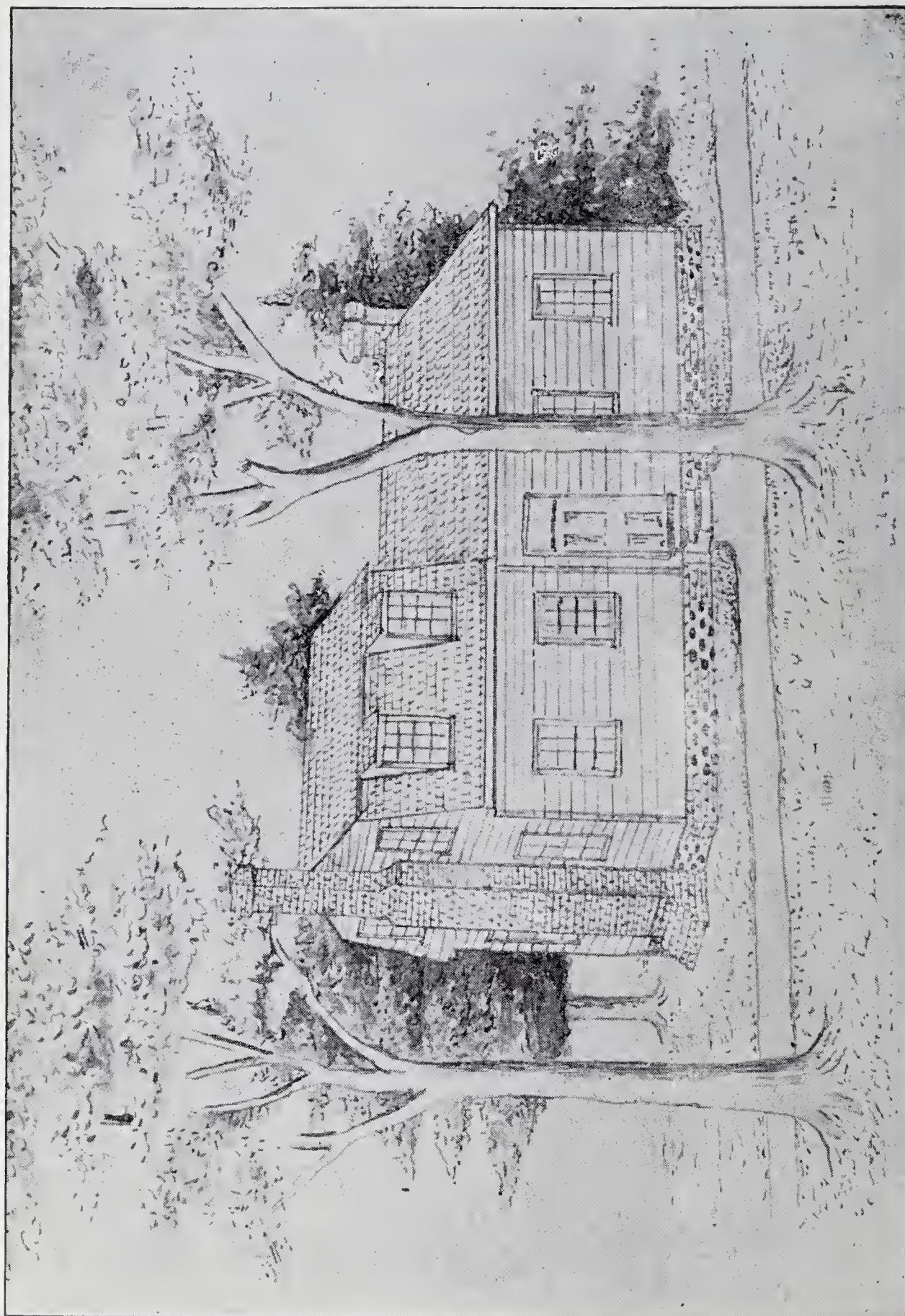
*Decorations by Miss Mary Beverly Dixon, Edenton, N. C.



hitherto only casually noticed by one State historian. A stranger coming to Edenton twenty-five years ago was shown an old-fashioned, long wooden house fronting directly on the beautiful court-house green; this historic house has since yielded to the ruthless hand of modern vandalism. It was the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, and under its roof fifty-one patriotic ladies* (and not fifty-four as stated erroneously by Wheeler) met October 25th, 1774, and passed resolutions commending the action of the provincial congress. They also declared they would not conform "to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea, or that the aforesaid Ladys would not promote ye wear of any manufacture from England" until the tax was repealed. Wheeler, in alluding to this incident and to the stormy days closely preceding the Revolution, in his second volume says: "The patriotism of the men was even exceeded by that of the women. By some strange freak of circumstance, many years ago, there was found at Gibraltar a beautiful picture done in skillful style, enameled on glass, of a 'meeting of the ladies of Edenton destroying the tea (their favorite beverage), when it was taxed by the English parliament.' This picture was procured by some of the officers of our navy, and was sent to Edenton, where I saw it in 1830."

This is not only erroneous, but Mr. Wheeler has also misquoted the reference to the meeting in the American Archives, and there has been considerable other misinformation afloat regarding it, all of which I shall endeavor to set aright. The following is the correct notice copied direct from the American Archives, and occupies just twelve lines: "Association Signed by Ladies of Edenton, North Carolina, October 25, 1774. 'As we cannot be indifferent on any occasion that appears to affect the peace and happiness of our country; and it has been thought necessary for the publick good to enter into several particular resolves, by meeting of Members of Deputies from the whole province, it is a duty that we owe not only to our near and dear relations and connections, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare, to do everything as far as lies in our

*As the population was sparse, it is very probable that fifty-one names comprised most of the ladies living in and around Edenton then.



OLD TEA PARTY HOUSE, FACING COURT HOUSE GREEN
[*Residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King. Pulled down in 1876.*]

power to testify our sincere adherence to the same, and we do therefore accordingly subscribe this paper, as a witness of our fixed intention, and solemn determination to do so.' Signed by fifty-one ladies."*

Women have always been potent factors in all great moral and political reformations. The drafting of such resolutions, so directly antagonistic to royal authority, required a calmer, far more enviable courage than that developed by the fanatic heroism of the crusades, or the feverish bravery of martial music. The tax upon tea was a direct insult to their household gods; it poisoned every cup of their tea, it affected every hearthstone in the province. In looking back upon our past it should be a matter of pride to know, that such women helped to form the preface of our history, characters which should be held up to our children as worthy of emulation.

"These are deeds which should not pass away,
And names that must not wither, though the earth
Forgets her empires with a just decay."

The account of this tea-party found its way into the London papers of that day, and the effect it had there may be noted in the following old letter, strongly tinctured with sarcasm. It was written by Arthur Iredell of London to his brother James Iredell, a distinguished patriot of this place, who married Miss Hannah Johnson, a sister of one of the signers of the noted document.

"LONDON QUEEN SQUARE," January 31, 1775.

DEAR BROTHER: I see by the newspaper the Edenton ladies have signalized themselves by their protest against tea drinking. The name of Johnston I see among others; are any of my sister's relations patriotic heroines? Is there a female congress at Edenton, too? I hope not, for we Englishmen are afraid of the male congress, but if the ladies, who have ever since the Amazonian era been esteemed the most formidable enemies; if they, I say, should attack us, the most fatal consequence is to be dreaded. So dextrous in the handling of a dart, each wound they give is mortal; whilst we, so unhappily formed by nature, the more we strive to conquer them, the more we are conquered. The Edenton ladies, conscious, I suppose, of this superiority on their side, by a former experience, are willing, I imagine, to crush us into atoms by their omnipotency:

*American Archives fourth series, vol. I, 891.

the only security on our side to prevent the impending ruin, that I can perceive, is the probability that there are but few places in America which possess so much female artillery as Edenton.

Pray let me know all the particulars when you favor me with a letter.

Your most affectionate friend and brother,
ARTHUR IREDELL.*

The society of Edenton at this period was charming in its refinement and culture; it was at one time the colonial capital, and social rival of Williamsburg, Virginia. Edenton then had five hundred inhabitants. Its galaxy of distinguished patriots, both men and women, would shine resplendent in any country or in any age. The tea-party then, as now, was one of the most fashionable modes of entertaining. The English were essentially a tea-drinking nation, and consequently tea became the most universal drink of the colonies. Dr. Johnson declared that "with tea he amused the evening, with tea solaced the midnight, and with tea welcomed the morning." Dickens frequently refers to these tea-drinkings. At a meeting of the Brick Lane Branch of the United Grand Junction Ebenezer Temperance Association, the ladies drank tea to such an alarming extent, that the Pickwickian Mr. Weller could not help from remarking out loud, in spite of Sam's protests, and nudgings—"There's a young 'ooman on the next form but one, as has drunk nine breakfast cups and a half; and she's a swelling visibly before my wery eyes." Coffee was not introduced in Europe until much later, the first cup having been drunk by Louis XIV of France at a cost of twenty-nine dollars per pound. The principal variety of tea used by the colonies was the Bohea, or black tea, and came from India. It was of the purest quality, the art of sophistication and adulteration being unknown at that day. The feeling of ease and comfort inspired by an elegant cup of tea, as well as the exhilaration of the mental faculties which it produces, made it a necessary assistant to break the stiffness of those old-fashioned parties. It contains an active principle, theine, which, taken in considerable quantity, produces a species of intoxication. Foreigners who visit China, where tea is served upon almost every occasion, become frequently tea-drunk.

*Life and Correspondence of James Iredell, vol 1, page 230.

The method of preparing tea by our ancestors was essentially that of the wealthy class in China. The tea was brought upon the table in decorated china tea-caddies, some of which are still in existence, along with an urn of boiling water. The tea leaves were then placed in the cup of every guest, the cup filled with hot water, and the saucer inverted over it for a few minutes to retain the aroma. The tea-pot was only used then by the rather bourgeoisie. Social life was never more enjoyed than then, there was an abandon and freedom of manner, united with an open-hearted hospitality, of which we know nothing at this day, when social restrictions restrict also social pleasures.

Col. Edward Buncombe but crystallized, and formulated the most universal feeling of this section, when he inscribed, in unmistakable lines upon his front gate the euphonious distich:

“Welcome all
To Buncombe Hall.” *

There were quiltings, and cotillion parties, and tea-parties without number, the gentlemen would often go great distances on horseback, with their sweethearts riding behind them, and attend these gatherings. If the night was cold, blazing fires of lightwood crackled to receive them, and huge bowls of spicy apple-toddy mellowed to enliven and cheer, later in the evening tea would invariably be served, which no one would be so unfashionable as to refuse. An old lady informed me that her grandmother had a medical friend, who would always drink fourteen cups of tea.

Under its influence conversation enlivened, and wit sparkled. After tea the ladies would gossip, and spin, and reel, while the gentlemen would retire to discuss the political issues of the day, the policy of Lord North in regard to the American colonies, or the unjust tax which was about to be placed upon tea, or perhaps one would read aloud a recent speech by Mr. Pitt, from an English newspaper, which he had been so fortunate to

*Buncombe Hall stood in Washington Co., and was the seat of a generous hospitality. The mantel from its banquet hall is now in the Court-house at Asheville, the county seat of Buncombe.

obtain from some incoming ship. All along, this would be punctuated by puffs of tobacco smoke from their long-stemmed pipes. They were as notional about their tobacco as they were about their tea, the method of preparing and using the weed, was to cure it in the sun, cut it upon a maple log, keep it in a lily pot, which was a jar of white earth, and to light the pipe with a splinter of juniper, or with a coal of fire, in a pair of silver tongs made for that purpose.

The incidents connected with this particular tea-party are especially interesting, as they come to us through the blue mist of a century. We can easily imagine how they sat around in their low-necked, short-waisted gowns, and after they had gossiped sufficiently, "it was resolved that those who could spin, ought to be employed in that way, and those who could not should reel. When the time arrived for drinking tea, Bohea and Hyperion were provided, and every one of the ladies judiciously rejected the poisonous Bohea, and unanimously and to their very great honor, preferred the balsamic Hyperion," which was nothing more than the dried leaves of the raspberry vine, a drink, in the writer's opinion, more vile even than the much vaunted Yupon.

The picture of this patriotic party, incorrectly alluded to by Wheeler, has a strange and unique history. Lieutenant William T. Muse, a United States naval officer, who became conspicuous during the Civil War, and whose mother was a Miss Blount of Edenton, while on a cruise in the Mediterranean stopped at Port Mahon on the island of Minorca, and accidentally saw hanging in a barber's shop there a picture, representing the Edenton tea-party of 1774. It was purchased and brought by him to Edenton in 1830. I have this date from an old Bible bearing the date of his return from the cruise. It was first placed on exhibition in the court-house, and the representation of the characters was so distinct that many of the ladies were easily recognized. It then found a resting place in the old tailor shop of Joseph Manning, ancestor of Chief Justice Manning of Louisiana, and finally in a cracked condition, was

intrusted to the care of a lady. During the confusion of refugeeing incident to the Civil War, it was by some misadventure broken in three pieces.*

It is a painting upon glass, twelve by fourteen inches. Upon one of the pieces is the declaration set forth by the ladies, that they would drink no tea, nor wear any stuffs of British manufacture. Upon another is the picture of the lady who presided upon that occasion. She is seated at a table with a pen in her hand, her maid Amelia standing behind her chair. This maid lived for many years after this incident, and is still remembered by some of the oldest citizens. By a singular coincidence her granddaughter is still living upon the very same lot where the tea-party was held. Upon the third fragment of this picture in plain letters is written, "the Town of Edenton." It is not known how the picture of this party was obtained, or how it found its way to Port Mahon, or even into the barber shop. The printer's name in the corner of the picture is said to have been the same one who printed the celebrated letters of Junius in the reign of George III.

Pictures have immortalized many events in history, and it is very probable that but for this one the pleasing little incident would have been lost or forgotten. The defense of Chambigny by the "Garde Mobile" could never have been so immortalized in prose or rhyme as by the brush of Edouard Detaille. The Confederate etchings by Dr. A. J. Volck spoke volumes, and were so severe that he was confined in Fort McHenry prison, and the political cartoons by John Tanniel of the London Punch produced a profound sensation. "Porte Crayon" (General Strother), in his interesting article on Edenton and the surroundings, written for Harper's Magazine in 1857, says, "It is to be regretted that Porte Crayon did not get a sight of this painting, that the world might have heard more of it, and that the patriotism of the Ladies of Edenton might have been blazoned beside that of the men of Boston, who have figured in so many bad woodcuts." None of the names of

*This is not the only original Mezzotint of the "Edenton Tea-Party" in existence; there are identical ones elsewhere; one in the possession of Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey, a broker, of Wall St., N. Y., and another in the Metropolitan Art Museum, New York City.

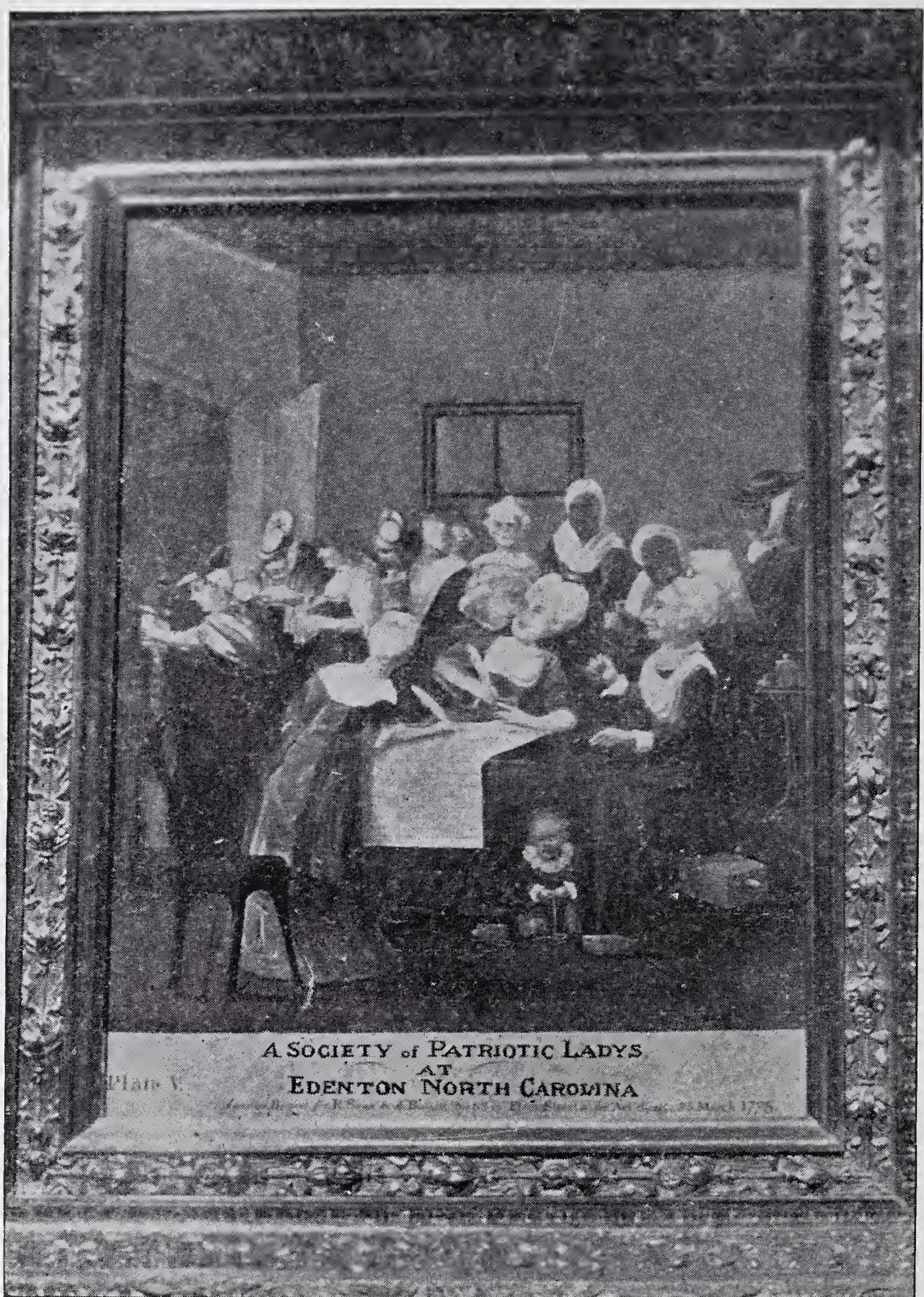
the fifty-one ladies present at this party have been preserved in history, but I have succeeded in rescuing five of them from the local traditions. Mrs. Penelope Barker, whose picture appears here, was the president of this party. She was no advocate of celibacy, having been married first to a Mr. Hodgson, then to a Mr. Craven, and lastly to Mr. Barker, whom she survived.

At a casual glance one might easily mistake her portrait for that of Lady Washington. She was one of those lofty, intrepid, high-born women peculiarly fitted by nature to lead; fear formed no part of her composition. Her face bears the expression of sternness without harshness, which a cheap novelist would describe as *hauteur*. She was a brilliant conversationalist, and a society leader of her day.

Mr. Thomas Barker,* her husband, was a gifted lawyer and had for his pupil at one time the distinguished Governor, Samuel Johnston. The attachment of Governor Johnston for Mr. Barker was so great that in after years he had him and his more illustrious wife interred in his private graveyard on his beautiful estate Hayes, where a mossy slab marks their last resting-place. Mr. Barker was detained for some time in London during the Revolution, and while there his wife was called upon to show some of that pluck and courage she had evinced at the tea-party. Being informed by a servant that some British soldiers were taking her carriage horses from her stables, she snatched her husband's sword from the wall, went out and with a single blow severed the reins in the officer's hands, and drove her horses back into the stables. The British officer declared, that for such exhibition of bravery, she should be allowed to keep her horses, and she was never afterwards molested. Mrs. Barker's residence stood upon the site now occupied by the Woodard Hotel.

Mrs. Sarah Valentine was also one of the signers. Her portrait is still in the possession of her descendants. Her house stood on the lower end of Main Street. Mrs. Elizabeth King

*A portrait of Thomas Barker by Sir Joshua Reynolds, graces the Hayes library. There is also a fine portrait of him, probably by Sully, in the Cupola House.



FROM THE OIL PAINTING PRESENTED BY DR. R. DILLARD
TO THE STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA

was another signer, and it was at her house, as before mentioned, that the party was held. She was the wife of Thomas King, a prominent merchant of the town. The Miss Johnston referred to in the Iredell letter was undoubtedly Miss Isabella, a sister of Governor Johnston. She was engaged to Joseph Hewes, a signer of the Declaration of Independence from North Carolina and died just before her marriage was consummated. Hewes, who was a man of great wealth and refinement, soon followed her broken-hearted to the grave.

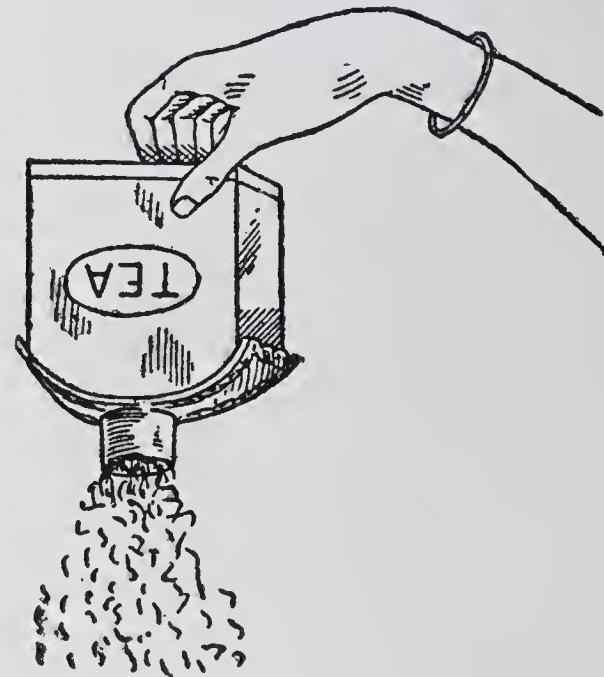
I extract the following from the first volume (1877) of the *Magazine of American History*.

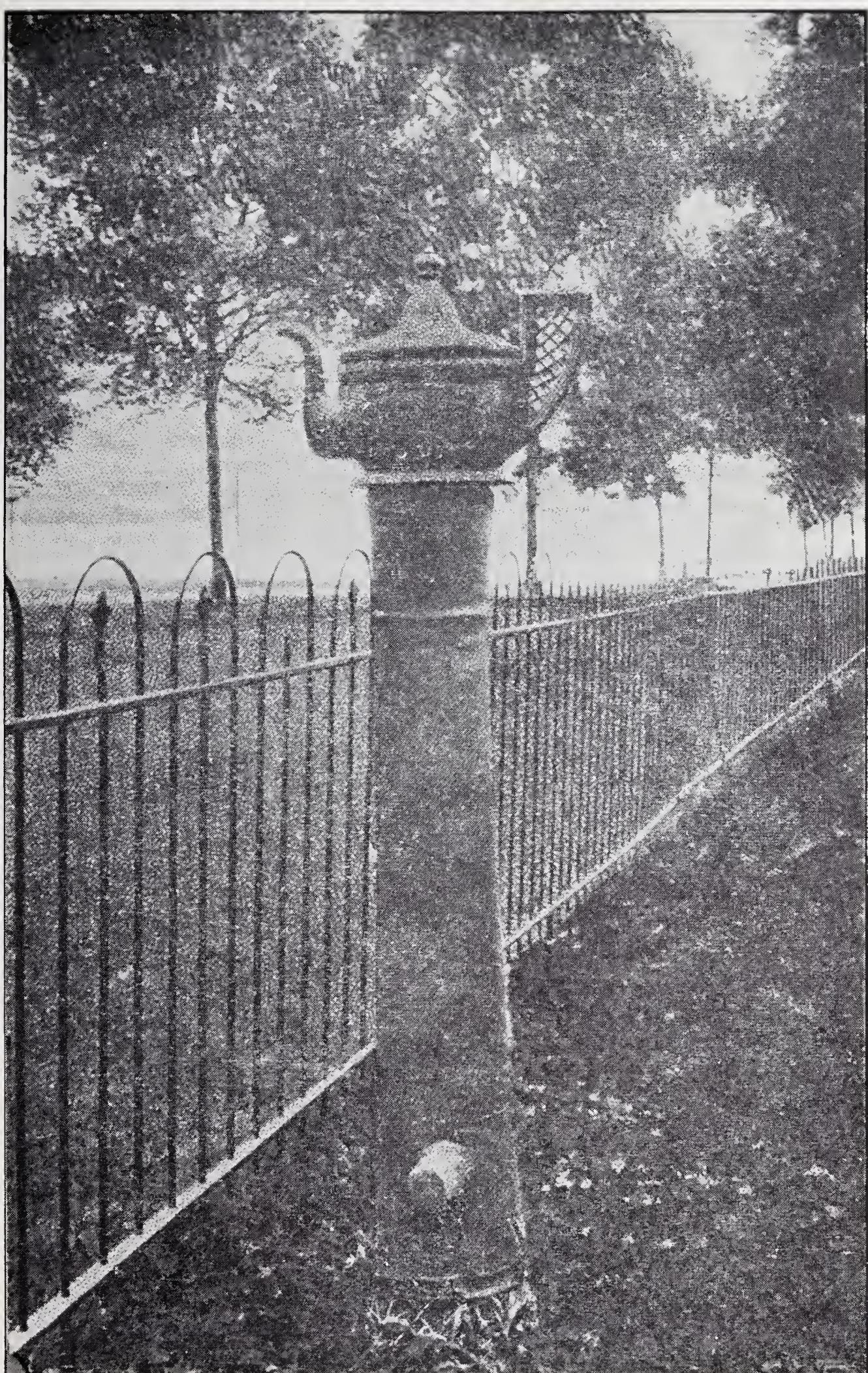
"Revolutionary Caricature. I send a description of a caricature that may interest collectors. It is a mezzotint, fourteen by ten inches, entitled A Society of Patriotic Ladies, at Edenton, in North Carolina. London. Printed for R. Sayer & J. Bennett, No. 53 in Fleet Street, as the Act directs 25 March, 1775, Plate V. A group of fifteen figures are around or near a table in a room. A female at the table with a gavel is evidently a man, probably meant for Lord North. A lady, with pen in hand is being kissed by a gentleman. Another lady, standing, is writing on a large circular, which can be read, 'We the Ladys of Edenton do hereby solemnly engage not to conform to that Pernicious Custom of Drinking Tea, or that we the aforesaid Ladys will not promote ye wear of any manufacture from England, until such time that all Acts which tend to enslave this our Native Country shall be repealed.' The other figures are not close around the table, and are emptying tea-caddies or looking on. A child and dog are under the table. Compare Bancroft's United States, Vol. VII, p. 282. J. C. B."

It will be remembered that Lord North, referred to in the description, was prime minister of England at that time, and the Stamp Act, which included a great many articles, had been relieved upon everything except tea; this made him especially odious to the ladies of the Colonies. The dissolute, and improvident King was cartooned at this time as a hopeless pauper, thrusting both hands down to the bottom of his empty pockets, in search of his last guinea. The taxation of the Colonies became a necessity, which grew out of his extravagance. A writer in alluding to the activity and zeal of the women of the Revolution says: "In the lives of those high-mettled dames

of the olden time, the daughters, wives, and mothers of men, the earnest inquirer might find much to elucidate that befogged question of the present day, What are the rights of women?"

And now my task is ended. Let History distill in her great alembic whatever is valuable from these pages for posterity.





The Marker on the site of the Edenton Tea-Party House

The Edenton Tea-Party is no longer a legend, or myth in North Carolina's history, and writers of history are beginning to call attention to it as one of those important events leading up to the American Revolution. On the site of the house where it was held there has been placed a Revolutionary cannon surmounted by an heroic bronze colonial tea-pot, upon which is inscribed: "On this spot stood the residence of Mrs. Elizabeth King, in which the Ladies of Edenton met Oct. 25th, 1774, to protest against the tax on tea."

The North Carolina Daughters of the Revolution also, laboring assiduously through their publication, "THE BOOKLET," raised a handsome sum and erected a beautiful tablet to these patriotic heroines in the Capitol at Raleigh in 1908.

Since the last publication of this article, Mr. R. T. Haines Halsey, a broker and litterateur of Wall Street, while pursuing his historical investigations abroad, found in the British Museum an old newspaper, *The Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 16th, 1775, containing the list of the signers of the "Edenton Tea-Party Resolutions," and the reader is respectfully referred to his interesting book published by the Grolier Club, entitled "The Boston Port Bill as Pictured by a Contemporary Boston Cartoonist."

A list of the signers of the celebrated Tea-Party Resolutions is appended here.

RICHARD DILLARD.

Beverly Hall, Edenton, N. C.,
January 1st, 1925.

SIGNERS OF THE EDENTON TEA-PARTY RESOLUTIONS

ABAGAIL CHARLTON	LYDIA BONNER
ELIZABETH CREACY	ANNE HORNIBLOW
ANNE JOHNSTONE	MARION WELLS
MARY WOOLARD	SARAH MATHEWS
JEAN BLAIR	ELIZABETH ROBERTS
FRANCES HALL	REBECCA BONDFIELD
MARY CREACY	SARAH HOWCOTT
MARY BLOUNT	ELIZABETH P. ORMOND
MARGARET CATHCART	SARAH VALENTINE
JANE WELLWOOD	MARY BONNER
PENELOPE DAWSON	MARY RAMSEY
SUSANNA VAIL	LYDIA BENNETT
ELIZABETH VAIL	TRESIA CUNNINGHAM
ELIZABETH VAIL	ANNE HAUGHTON
J. JOHNSTONE	ELIZABETH ROBERTS
ELIZABETH PATTERSON	RUTH BENBURY
MARGARET PEARSON	PENELOPE BARKER
SARAH BEASLEY	MARY LITTLEDEL
GRACE CLAYTON	ELIZABETH JOHNSTONE
MARY JONES	ELIZABETH GREEN
MARY CREACY	SARAH HOWE
ANNE HALL	MARY HUNTER
SARAH LITTLEJOHN	ANNE ANDERSON
SARAH HOSKINS	ELIZABETH BEARSLEY
M. PAYNE	ELIZABETH ROBERTS
ELIZABETH CRICKET	

In August, 1892, I published in the Magazine of American History of New York City the first account of the "Edenton Tea-Party." The article was so well received, and awakened such interest among students of history, that I was induced to publish it privately, in 1898: It was again republished by the "NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET," in 1901. A special Jamestown edition was released in 1907, and now at the urgent requests of friends it greets the public with its sixth edition.

There is such a demand for this account of the "Edenton Tea-Party" that it is by request published in THE BOOKLET—the seventh edition.

NORTH CAROLINA'S MEMORIAL AT VALLEY FORGE

It is indeed a subject for rejoicing that Mrs. S. Westray Battle, of Asheville, N. C., chairman of the North Carolina State Commission Valley Forge Memorial, has been able to announce the completion of the North Carolina bay in "The Cloister of the Colonies" at Valley Forge. This is to be North Carolina's memorial to her gallant troops (nine regiments) who endured the privations of that never-to-be-forgotten winter.

In a letter, dated December 8, 1925, to the Editor of THE BOOKLET, Mrs. Battle wrote:

"The North Carolina bay at Valley Forge is finished, but the weather is not propitious for a proper dedication, so it seemed wise to postpone that ceremony until the spring, when I hope that as many members of the commission as possible can be present. The date will, of course, be announced."

The chairman has performed a difficult task with ease, displaying phenomenal executive ability. She was ably assisted by the State Commission appointed by Governor Morrison and composed of the following:

Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton	S. S. Nash
Mrs. Charles W. Tillett	A. B. Andrews
Mrs. Theodore Davidson	J. A. Gray
Mrs. Edwin Clark Gregory	J. G. McCormick
Dr. S. Westray Battle.	Edwin Monroe Harriss

In a circular letter issued by the chairman during the campaign for funds, Mrs. Battle, in speaking of "The Cloister of the Colonies," says:

"The Cloister of the Colonies adjoins the Chapel. In it is the open-air pulpit. In front of it is the Woodland Cathedral, formed of elm trees from Mount Vernon, planted in the shape of a cross. Each bay is dedicated to the men of a colony who served the nation in the battle for national freedom. There is no bay in honor of Episcopalians; all the bays are in honor of American patriots."

And again, in emphasizing the importance of this shrine, remarks:

"To the encampment at Valley Forge, where nine North Carolina regiments suffered all the hardships and privations of the bitterest winter of the Revolution, come hundreds of foreign sightseers, whose guidebooks of America all mark Valley Forge with a double star. They come not only because the place is historically interesting, but because, now that the Memorial is so nearly completed, one sees there some of the most perfect examples of Gothic architecture in this country. In addition to the people from other lands, countless American tourists daily visit Valley Forge, to pay tribute to the men who offered their lives for their country's independence, and from the more than twenty schools and colleges within a fifty-mile radius of the spot, and the many others lying not far without it, come every year groups of students and faculty members to see the nation's memorial to its heroes.

"The Fourth of July, 1926, will mark the 150th anniversary of American independence, and in honor of the occasion the City of Philadelphia has planned a great sesqui-centennial celebration which will attract people from every State in the Union, not only to Independence Hall and the Betsy Ross house, but to Valley Forge."

The Daughters of the Revolution and subscribers of THE BOOKLET have revealed their interest in this memorial by contributions. For those who have expressed a desire to know something more about the North Carolina troops at Valley Forge, Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood's very interesting and valuable booklet on the subject is reprinted in this issue of THE BOOKLET.

MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

NORTH CAROLINA MEMORIAL AT VALLEY FORGE

By MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD

(This sketch is reprinted from little booklet issued by the North Carolina Society of Pennsylvania in the interest of the North Carolina memorial at Valley Forge.)

If any structure on this continent may fittingly be called the Westminster Abbey of America, none can lay a better claim to that proud distinction than the Washington Memorial Chapel at Valley Forge in the State of Pennsylvania.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for August, 1922, A. Edward Newton gives a vivid description of Valley Forge, the most famous of all Revolutionary encampments; and, in the course of his article, says: "Leaving our motor by the roadside, we approached the chapel on foot; immediately our attention is challenged by a fine cloister which, we are told, is the Cloister of the Colonies. It consists of thirteen bays, adjoining the chapel, immediately to the west."

Spasmodic efforts have from time to time been made to give North Carolina her place of honor with her sister Colonies in the above cloister. These efforts were finally crowned with success and a beautiful bay in the cloister now represents our State. Well worthy of this honor were the old Continentals of North Carolina who suffered and endured such unparalleled hardships from cold, hunger, and almost nakedness, during the dreary and never-to-be-forgotten Winter of 1777-78, thereby making possible the ultimate triumph of American arms and the blessings of a free government which we enjoy today.

The number of troops from North Carolina in the encampment at Valley Forge is a strong testimonial to the State's patriotism and public spirit; and the personal prowess displayed by those troops in many bloody battles, both before and after Valley Forge, should keep their memory forever enshrined in the hearts of all true Americans. It should also be remembered to the honor of North Carolina that she offered to march

five thousand militia to reinforce Washington's depleted army during those terrible winter months. Of this offer, under date of January 31, 1778, from York, Pa., Cornelius Harnett, member of the Continental Congress, wrote Governor Caswell as follows:

"Congress have a high sense of the offer made by our country* of marching 5,000 militia to the assistance of the Grand Army, and greatly applaud their spirit; whether they will be called for is not yet known. I suppose they will not (having so great a distance to march), unless in case of emergency." †

Let us cast a backward glance at the North Carolinians who were in Washington's northern campaign, and learn something of their military history at and previous to the time when they went into camp at Valley Forge. The North Carolina Continentals—regulars, as distinguished from State troops and militia—were regimented at or near Wilmington, N. C., early in 1776. Before that time, North Carolina troops had aided in driving Lord Dunmore's forces out of Virginia; and, with a loss of only one man of their own, had crushingly defeated a vastly superior force of Tory Highlanders and former Regulators at Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776.

James Moore, of New Hanover County, and Robert Howe, of Brunswick County, were commissioned Brigadier-Generals in the Continental Line on March 1, 1776. Moore afterwards marched his brigade to the vicinity of Charleston, S. C., and there fought under Major General Charles Lee. When Lee was ordered northward, Moore was for a while commander of the Southern Department. After returning to North Carolina he became ill, and died in the spring of 1777. To succeed him Colonel Francis Nash, of the First North Carolina Continental Regiment, was commissioned Brigadier General. Nash's brigade, which set out to join the "Grand Army" under Washington, contained about 4,500 men when they reached Halifax, N. C., on the march northward.‡ General Nash himself, who

*Each State was called a "country" in that day.—M. DEL. H.

† State Records of North Carolina, Vol. XIII, p. 21.

‡State Records of North Carolina, Vol. XV, p. 702.

had been temporarily absent on recruiting duty, later rejoined his brigade with still further reinforcements, probably running the total up to 5,000. They marched up through Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania to Washington's army, which was encamped at Middlebrook, N. J. Washington and his army were jubilant over this splendid accession to their ranks, and a "salutation of thirteen cannon, each fired thirteen times," roared out a welcome to the newcomers. The first fight of Nash's brigade, under the leadership of Washington, was at Brandywine, September 11, 1777. Less than a month later came the Battle of Germantown (October 4th), and a disastrous fight it was for North Carolina. General Nash's thigh was shattered by a cannon-shot, and he died of his wound three days later. Colonel Edward Buncombe, of the Fifth Regiment, was wounded and captured—later dying while a prisoner of war in Philadelphia. Lieutenant Colonel Henry Irwin, of the Fifth Regiment, Adjutant Jacob Turner of the Third, and Lieutenant John McCann of the Sixth, were left dead on the field. Major William Polk of the Ninth, Captain John Armstrong of the Second, Lieutenant Joshua Hadley of the Sixth, Ensign John Daves of the Second, and probably others, were among the wounded.

For some weeks after Germantown, minor fights were engaged in by detachments of the opposing armies; and, on December 19, 1777, began the long and ever-to-be-remembered encampment on the frozen stretches of Valley Forge. To pen an adequate description, even in part, of the varied horrors of that winter, is far beyond the powers of the present writer. In the fourth chapter of the first volume of Senator Beveridge's biography of Chief Justice Marshall is a description which probably surpasses in excellence and interest any yet written. At Valley Forge the North Carolina Brigade, formerly commanded by Nash, was for the time placed under Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, a Georgia officer of Scotch birth, whom Washington characterized as "an officer of great merit and worth." Some months later, not long after Valley Forge was

evacuated, the North Carolina Brigade (or what was left of it) was commanded by Colonel and Acting Brigadier-General Thomas Clark, of North Carolina.

As the Tenth North Carolina (commanded by Colonel Abraham Sheppard) was delayed in marching northward on account of the lack of equipment, there were only nine North Carolina regiments at Valley Forge. These, and their commanding officers, were as follows:

FIRST REGIMENT, THOMAS CLARK, of New Hanover County, commanding.—Colonel Clark entered the service as Major of the First Regiment, September 1, 1775; promoted to Lieutenant Colonel, April 10, 1776, and to Colonel, February 5, 1777; after returning to the South he was wounded at the Battle of Stono Ferry, S. C., June 20, 1779; later served under General Lincoln, and was made prisoner of war when Lincoln surrendered the city of Charleston, May 12, 1780; retired January 1, 1783; brevetted Brigadier-General at close of war, September 30, 1783; member North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, 1783; and died December 25, 1792.

SECOND REGIMENT, JOHN PATTEN, of Beaufort County, commanding.—Colonel Patten was Major of the Second Regiment September 1, 1775; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment April 10, 1776, and to Colonel of same November 22, 1777; served under Washington in his northern campaigns after Valley Forge, and later returned to the South; was made prisoner of war while serving under General Lincoln at Charleston, May 12, 1780; and retired January 1, 1783.

THIRD REGIMENT, JETHRO SUMNER, of Warren County (old Bute County), commanding.—Colonel Sumner's first service was in Minute Men under General Howe in campaign against Lord Dunmore in Virginia; later was commissioned Colonel of Third Continental Regiment, April 15, 1776; promoted to Brigadier-General in Continental Army, January 9, 1779; after return to South he commanded military operations in North Carolina; highly distinguished himself in numerous battles, particularly Germantown, Pa., and Eutaw Springs, S. C.; aided in collecting remains of the defeated army of

Gates after the Battle of Camden; served until close of war; first president of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, 1783; and died March 18, 1785.

FOURTH REGIMENT, THOMAS POLK, of Mecklenburg County, commanding.—Colonel Polk first saw service as commander of a militia regiment in 1775; commissioned Colonel of the Fourth North Carolina Regiment April 16, 1776; resigned just after Valley Forge encampment, June 28, 1778; later rendered active service in North Carolina and South Carolina as Colonel of militia; and died in 1793.

FIFTH REGIMENT, WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON, of Mecklenburg County (Lieutenant-Colonel), commanding in the absence of Colonel Edward Buncombe, who had been wounded and captured at Germantown. Colonel Davidson was commissioned Major of the Fourth Regiment April 15, 1776; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of the Fifth Regiment in 1777; transferred to Third Regiment June 1, 1778; transferred to First Regiment June 9, 1779; commissioned Brigadier-General of North Carolina troops August 31, 1780, as successor to General Griffith Rutherford (prisoner at Charleston); badly wounded in fight at Colson's, and killed at the Battle of Cowan's Ford, North Carolina, February 1, 1781.

SIXTH REGIMENT, GIDEON LAMB, of Currituck County, commanding.—Colonel Lamb was commissioned Major in the Sixth Regiment, April 15, 1776; promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel of that regiment, May 6, 1776; Colonel of same, January 26, 1777; served at Charleston and Haddrell's Point, South Carolina, 1776-1777, and in Washington's campaigns of 1777-1778; owing to reduction of regiments he was detached and placed on waiting orders; was later on recruiting duty in North Carolina, where he died (while war was in progress), November 8, 1781.

SEVENTH REGIMENT, JAMES HOGUN, of Halifax County, commanding.—Colonel Hogun was commissioned Colonel of the Seventh Regiment, November 26, 1776; transferred to Third Regiment, June 1, 1778; returned home on recruiting duty, and rejoined Washington's army at White Plains, New York, late in the Summer of 1778, with regiment of nearly six hun-

dred North Carolinians; * in command of troops engaged in fortifying West Point, New York, in November, 1778; Brigadier-General in Continental Army, January 9, 1779; after returning South, was actively engaged in North Carolina and South Carolina; captured at Charleston, South Carolina, when that city was surrendered by General Lincoln, May 12, 1780; was offered parole by British but would not accept, as like favor could not be obtained for his men, and died in captivity at Haddrell's Point, near Charleston, January 4, 1781.

EIGHTH REGIMENT, JAMES ARMSTRONG, of Craven County, commanding.—Colonel Armstrong was commissioned Captain in the Second Regiment September 1, 1775; Colonel of the Eighth Regiment November 26, 1776; detached and placed on waiting orders June 1, 1778; retired on half pay January 23, 1781; Brigadier-General of North Carolina troops in the District of New Bern February 7, 1781; wounded at the Battle of Stono Ferry, South Carolina, June 20, 1779.

NINTH REGIMENT, JOHN WILLIAMS, of Caswell County, commanding.—Colonel Williams entered the service in the State militia as Lieutenant-Colonel of the Hillsborough District, September 9, 1775; was commissioned Colonel of the Ninth North Carolina Continental Regiment, November 26, 1776; was left in command of camp at Halifax when General Nash and his brigade (with part of Ninth Regiment) marched northward in summer of 1777; broke camp at Halifax and began march northward, September 1, 1777; mustered out at Valley Forge when regiments were reorganized, January 1, 1778; and died on April 15, 1831. (This officer, who lived in Caswell County after Caswell was severed from Orange, should not be confused with Colonel John Pugh Williams, who was a Captain of Continentals and Colonel of militia.)

As the biting and benumbing cold of the terrible winter of 1777-78 gave place to spring and early summer, and brought vegetation to new life, it also brought fresh determination to the patriot army at and around Valley Forge. Sir Henry Clinton and his British forces evacuated Philadelphia on June

*State Records of North Carolina, Vol. XIII, p. 211.

18, 1778, and Washington's army took possession of the city. As Clinton and his redcoats moved away, they doubtless thought that the Americans would be too happy over the rid-dance to interfere with their march. But Washington was no quitter. He went immediately in pursuit; and, on June 28th, fought the Battle of Monmouth, where the North Carolina troops acquitted themselves with credit. As the cold had tortured the patriot army a few months earlier, the sultry summer now tried their endurance. The day on which the Battle of Monmouth was fought was one of the most fearfully hot and oppressive on record.

The troops of North Carolina under Washington fought on under that incomparable commander wherever he led until toward the end of 1779, when nearly all of them were ordered South to reinforce the army of General Benjamin Lincoln.

To determine with any degree of accuracy the numerical strength of the North Carolina Brigade at Valley Forge seems impossible. When this brigade was on its northward march to join Washington, contemporaneous records show that it numbered about five thousand men. Yet the returns made at different times during the Valley Forge encampment sometimes placed the number of North Carolinians at a little less than a thousand, and never quite as high as fifteen hundred. This being true, it is probable that many detachments of North Carolina troops were sent on other duty. Then, too, battles and sickness had greatly reduced their ranks. Writing to Governor Caswell, with reference to the North Carolina Brigade, General McIntosh said:

"I am sorry I have to inform you the men of my brigade here have suffered severely this winter for lack of clothing and other necessaries. Fifty of them died in and about camp since the beginning of January last, and near two hundred sick here now, besides as many more, reported sick, absent in different hospitals of this State and Jersey—a most distressing situation!—and only Dr. McClure, of the Second Regiment, to attend the whole of them until a few days ago."

The foregoing is a brief and very inadequate account of the record of North Carolina troops in Washington's northern

campaign, including Valley Forge. When the sons of this old State in that long war suffered from hunger, cold, nakedness, disease, and nearly every misery which ever tortured man, in order that America might be free, it is only proper that our present prosperous, free, and happy state—prosperous, happy, and free because of their sacrifices—should hold their deeds in grateful and everlasting remembrance.

HISTORY GIVEN OF VALLEY FORGE

By CAPTAIN S. A. ASHE

The following article by Captain S. A. Ashe is most interesting, especially now as the Daughters of the Revolution have worked for the Valley Forge memorial.

The mother of the Gracchi said of her sons, "These are my jewels." The thirteen States that won independence and established our Constitution, can point to the other thirty-six and say: "These are my daughters; but my jewels are the achievements, the sacrifices made in winning independence."

In the memories of those suffering "the daughters" have no share. In this the thirteen stand alone, and now, after a century and a half, we of the thirteen should emphasize what part we took in the struggle for independence, so that the thirty-six daughters may appreciate our gift to our country.

The turning point in the struggle was in the winter of 1777-78, when a movement was on foot to displace Washington, which would have resulted in failure of the cause.

Congress, having general direction, had appointed incompetent men to supply clothing, food and munitions, and whether in pursuance of the conspiracy against Washington or otherwise, the army was without provisions and clothing. The British fleet and the British army held Philadelphia and New York and the Hudson. The New England States were cut off, and Virginia had exhausted her supplies. Pennsylvania was reluctant. Washington was forced to go into winter quarters.

"Hungry and cold were the poor fellows who had so long been keeping the field; for provisions were scant, clothing worn out, and so badly off were they for shoes that the footsteps of the men might be tracked in blood." They arrived at Valley Forge, about twenty miles west of Philadelphia, on December 17th. While "sad and dreary was the march," now they had to clear the forest and build huts for the winter. These were to be erected on streets, assigned to the several States. On the 22d of December the enemy appeared near by. Washington

ordered troops to be ready to march against them. Huntington replied: "Fighting will be far preferable to starving. My brigade is out of provisions, nor can the commissary obtain any meat." Varnum said: "It is pleasing to my division that there is a probability of marching, three days successively we have been destitute of bread."

North Carolina had nine regiments in the camp, and even though reduced in numbers, they were a considerable part of the entire force. And Washington reported that "numbers have been obliged and still are to sit up all night by fires for the want of blankets. We have now in camp 2,898 men unfit for duty because they are barefoot and otherwise naked."

It was indeed a terrible situation. But still a special corps was organized to harrass the British outposts. One-half of the North Carolinians fit for duty were in this corps. However, at home Governor Caswell was making every exertion to send supplies. All sorts of skins and leathers and cloth fit for blankets were obtained and sent. The Albemarle Quakers made large quantities of shoes. The State had sent out through Ocracoke tobacco, and among other supplies obtained in return was salt, and Caswell employed men in every section of the State packing pork for Valley Forge and virtually he became commissary to obtain what was needed and quartermaster to transport the supplies. Our importations were so considerable that a British fleet was stationed at Ocracoke, and then the New Bern merchants fitted out the *Bellona*, carrying eighteen guns, and the *Chatham* to keep the inlet open. The Congress also made importations, the supplies being stored at Edenton and South Quay; and these were moved to Valley Forge and soon four brigades of wagons were sent from Pennsylvania to haul the stores. And so the needs of the soldiers were at length relieved. The army was preserved—Washington remained in command; and eventually independence was won. In this performance North Carolina's part stand far, far, far above that of any other State.

Pennsylvania has sanctified the ground of the encampment, and has erected the Washington memorial chapel there—with thirteen bays adjoining the chapel, one for each of the States.

All these bays have been completed. We should manifest our interest and pride in the important part we took in gaining independence and establishing our government. In these great and interesting matters the new States have no part. The crown of glory belongs to the Old Thirteen. It is our inheritance.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES NAVY YARD AT CHARLOTTE, N. C., 1862-1865

By VIOLET G. ALEXANDER

The great development of historic activity in North Carolina during the last few years has been accompanied by the ripening of a taste for historical research and for the collection of matter bearing on county as well as State and National history; and with this desire to preserve our county and State history has come the patriotic desire to mark historic places within our own borders. So that strangers and guests in each succeeding generation may know the patriotism, courage, bravery and true worth of North Carolina's sons and daughters from the Colonial, Revolutionary, Confederate and World War periods down to the present day.

Much of Mecklenburg's and Charlotte's splendid Colonial and Revolutionary history has been preserved and some of her historic places of those days have been marked, but her part in the Southern Confederacy, when her sons and daughters were one united people in their sacrifice, heroism, bravery and courage, has not received the recognition due her. So the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., through the interest of one of its members, Miss Violet G. Alexander, has turned its attention to the history of the Charlotte Navy Yard, and has marked with an appropriate iron marker the site of the Confederate Navy Yard, which was established in Charlotte in the spring of 1862 and operated until 1865. The iron marker placed by the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., is a navy shield surrounded by sea anchors with this inscription in gold letters on a black background:

**CONFEDERATE STATES NAVY YARD
CHARLOTTE, N. C.
1862-1865**

This marker is placed on the corner of the brick building of the S. A. L. freight depot, on East Trade Street, as this is the site of the former navy yard. The tablet was designed by a committee appointed by the U. D. C., composed of Miss Violet

Alexander and Mrs. B. D. Heath, and it was cast and placed by the Mecklenburg Iron Works, J. Frank Wilkes, manager. The tablet was unveiled by the Stonewall Jackson U. D. C. on June 3, 1910, which is President Jefferson Davis's birthday—a day of special veneration and observance in the South. Mrs. Stonewall Jackson, life president of the chapter, graced the occasion with her presence, and large numbers of veterans of the Mecklenburg Camp of Confederate Veterans, of the Stonewall Jackson Chapter of Children of the Confederacy, the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., as well as many patriotic citizens, were present. A splendid program, arranged by Miss Alexander, was provided. Hon. E. R. Preston made an appropriate and patriotic speech. "Dixie" and other loved Southern songs were sung, and prayer and the benediction were said.

Miss Violet G. Alexander, as chairman of the committee appointed by the U. D. C. to mark the site of the Confederate Navy Yard, deemed it advisable to give, at this time, to the general public a complete account of the Confederate Navy Yard at Charlotte. In compiling the article she received much valuable aid from many who lived in Charlotte during that period and some of whom were associated with the navy yard during its operation in Charlotte.

Mr. H. Ashton Ramsay, formerly officer in charge of the navy yard, with his residence in Charlotte from 1862 to 1865, in 1910 contracting manager of the American Bridge Company, of New York, with headquarters in Baltimore, Md., has furnished the following:

"Early in May, 1862, it was determined to evacuate Norfolk and in order to save some of the tools and machinery and to continue to manufacture ordnance for the navy, a number of the machines, tools, such as lathes, planing machines and one small hammer, were hurriedly shipped to Charlotte, N. C., and Commander John M. Brooke, who was at that time chief of the ordnance bureau in Richmond (afterwards transferred to the Army with rank of colonel, and after the war was a professor at the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Va., where he died), had assigned to him the United States Mint property on West Trade Street, and a lot located on and bounded by the railroad tracks of what was then known as the North Carolina Central Railroad and close to the station used by

the S. C. Railroad; this latter lot extended about 3,000 feet on the line of the railroad and faced on a side street parallel with the railroad about 1,000 feet. On this lot there was a small building, which had been occupied as a machine shop, and my recollection is that the property was purchased from Captain John Wilkes.

"Captain R. L. Page, afterward General Page, was placed in command of the works and had his headquarters and also his residence at the U. S. Mint, on West Trade Street, where his family lived during his administration of the affairs of the Navy Yard. The U. S. Mint had been formally taken over from the Federal Government by the Confederate Government in May, 1861—the Charlotte Grays, a young infantry company of this city, marching from their armory down West Trade Street, and formally occupying the Mint a few days prior to going to Raleigh to be assigned to their regiments.

"Shortly after the machinery referred to had been forwarded to Charlotte, N. C., the *Merrimac-Virginia*, which had been guarding the approaches to Norfolk, Va., had to be destroyed, together with other Confederate property at Norfolk, and Captain Catesby, Captain R. Jones, and the writer (H. Ashton Ramsay), who was chief engineer of the *Virginia*, were ordered to Charlotte, N. C., in connection with constructing the ordnance works. Subsequently, General Page was transferred to the Army and ordered to the command of Fort Morgan, near Mobile, Ala., and Captain Jones was ordered to ordnance works at Selma, Ala., leaving the writer (H. Ashton Ramsay) in command of the naval station at Charlotte, N. C.

"A number of large frame structures were erected on the property acquired, including a gun carriage shop, a laboratory, and a torpedo shop, and a large forge shop, where the largest steam hammer in the South was built, and where propeller shafting was forged for all the Confederate ironclads, *The Virginia No. II*, at Richmond; *The Albemarle*, which successfully rammed and destroyed several United States gunboats in the Roanoke river; the gunboats built in Charleston and Savannah; the ironclads *Tennessee*, *Mobile*, and other ironclads built at New Orleans; in fact, none of the vessels could have been constructed had it not been for the works at Charlotte. Rifles, solid shot, shell and torpedoes were manufactured at these works in Charlotte and supplied the batteries of all the vessels and shore batteries manned by the Confederate Navy.

"In the last six months of the war, when General Stoneman burnt Salisbury, N. C., and was expected to advance on Charlotte, the writer (Ramsay), then in command, was furnished with 300 muskets and directed to form a batallion of three companies from the employes of the naval works and to ship as many of the naval

stores and smaller tools as possible on railroad cars to Lincolnton, N. C., and to hold the battalion in readiness to receive orders from General Beauregard, to whom this battalion had been assigned.

"After the burning of Columbia, S. C., by General Sherman, he advanced toward Charlotte as far as Chester, S. C., but in the meantime the remnant of General Hood's army crossed over the country and came into Charlotte over the railroad bridge across the Catawba river, which we were instructed to plank over so the wagon trains could cross. General Johnston then assumed command of all the forces concentrated at Charlotte, and immediately transported his troops eastward and confronted General Sherman at Bentonville, where the last battle was fought and the enemy checked for the first time since the capture of Atlanta, Ga. Soon after this, President Jefferson Davis and his cabinet came to Charlotte, N. C., and for a few days Charlotte was the capital of the Confederacy.

"Mr. Davis and his cabinet started from Charlotte soon after the surrender of General Lee, towards Washington, Ga., under the escort of General Wheeler's cavalry and one company of the navy yard battalion under Captain Tabb, the other companies remaining to garrison Charlotte, and were surrendered together with the rest of General Johnston's army when the army capitulated at Greensboro, N. C., April, 1865.

"You will note by above that Charlotte, although several times menaced by hostile forces, and at one time the central focus of the Confederacy, was never actually captured by the enemy, their forces not coming into Charlotte until after the surrender at Greensboro.

(Signed) H. ASHTON RAMSAY,
Late Chief Engineer, C. S. N., and
Lieutenant-Colonel, C. S. A.,

"Baltimore, Md., March, 1910."

Miss Alexander was unable to obtain data concerning Commander John M. Brooke, referred to by Captain Ramsay. Mrs. John Wilkes, one of Charlotte's most patriotic and beloved women, at Miss Alexander's request, prepared the following sketch of the Charlotte Navy Yard. This article was read by Mrs. Wilkes before the U. D. C., of which she was one time historian, in April, 1910. A manuscript copy is filed with the U. D. C. Chapter, and it appeared in the *Charlotte Observer* and the *Charlotte News*, April 3, 1910.

Mrs. Wilkes' article reads as follows:

THE CONFEDERATE NAVY YARD IN CHARLOTTE, N. C.
1862—1865

"As the existence of a navy yard in Charlotte, N. C., has been doubted and derided, it is well to tell its story while there are some persons surviving who know of it and worked in it. I have found a number of workmen and persons, whose memory has aided mine, and here give a true history of the Charlotte Navy Yard.

"Soon after the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, it became apparent to the Confederate Government that it would not be possible to hold Norfolk, Va., and the United States Navy would soon take possession of the fort and navy yard. So naval officers were sent to the interior in the spring of 1862 to select a site to which all the valuable movable property in the navy yard would be taken. They came along the only railroad then far enough inland to be safe, and reached Charlotte, N. C., on their mission. Both the officers, Captain W. D. Murdaugh and, I think, Captain William Parker, were old friends of my husband, Captain John Wilkes, during his fourteen years' service in the United States Navy (1841-1854) and, of course, he met and welcomed them.

"On talking about their request, he showed them a place he had recently purchased, lying about 600 feet along the railroad with 100 feet frontage on East Trade Street. This they thought exactly suited to the purpose, far enough inland to be safe from attack by sea and lying on the only railroad which connected Richmond with the Southern States of the Confederacy. So the Confederate Government bought the property on promise to pay for it.

"A large quantity of material and coke ovens, foundry and machine shops were erected. A wooden landing stage was built from the yard to the railroad for convenience in loading and unloading. This was carried as far as the back of the brick building on East Trade Street, near College Street, to facilitate the movement of naval stores, and was then and for many years afterward called 'The Navy Yard Wharf.' Subsequently it gave the name to all the cotton districts about College Street, which has always been known even to this day as 'The Wharf,' an enduring reminder of the navy yard in Charlotte.

"No large guns were cast there, according to the testimony of Captain Ashton Ramsay, who now lives in Baltimore and who has given us much information on the subject. He told of a large trip-hammer which was part of the machinery brought from Norfolk, and which was a great curiosity here. I well remember Captain Wilkes taking me to see it work. With one blow it flattened a mass of iron and the next the ponderous mass came down so gently as only to crack an egg placed under it.

"Many workmen came with the machinery from Norfolk, and their families are still with us. Some of the names I recall:

"B. N. Presson, R. Culpepper, R. W. Grimes, H. W. Tatum, and many others. Other men of this vicinity entered the yard, Martin Frazier, Thomas Roberts, John Garibaldi, John Abernathy, John Rigler, and many more.

"When the navy became a thing of the past, many of these staunch and good men entered Captain Wilkes' service in the Mecklenburg Iron Works, where they remained until death, or forty years afterward, infirmity terminated their labors. It was a subject of great gratification to Captain Wilkes that his workmen were so long in his service. Many of the above list, as well as some excellent colored men, were with him until their death, and no strikes of discontent ever disturbed their cordial relations.

"One small gun was brought from Norfolk and passed, with other material, to the Mecklenburg Iron Works. For many years it was used in the celebrations and parades, but, fearing it might burst, and injure someone, Captain Wilkes had it broken up.

"When Richmond was taken by the Federal army, Mrs. Jefferson Davis and her family were in Charlotte, the house on North Brevard Street (northeast corner) and East Fifth Street having been rented for her use. When the news reached here, the authorities prepared to remove the specie from the treasury and other valuables sent here for safekeeping. Mrs. Davis insisted on accompanying the train with her children and her niece. The men at the navy yard were formed into a company as marines, armed and equipped as well as could be, and ordered out to guard the treasure train. Captain William Parker was in command. Just before they left, he brought his old sword to me, asking me to keep it for him, and it still hangs in my hall.

"The train went by rail to Chester, S. C., and then took up the march for the West. Forty-two wagons with fifty-five men on guard carried the specie. Mrs. Davis and family and the government officials were in carriages and on horseback. They marched as far as Cokesville, a village beyond Augusta, Ga., and then were ordered back to Newberry, S. C., where the iron-bound boxes of specie were put in bank. It was a cold, rainy night, and Mr. W. S. Culpepper recalls with pleasure a gracious act of Mrs. Davis. He, a young fellow of 17 or 18 years, was detailed as guard at the door of a little church where her family was spending the night. Mrs. Davis came to the door, bringing him a glass of wine, saying he must be cold and wet and this was all she could do for him.

"The next day the officials wanted to pay off the fifty-five men of the guard with pennies, remembering the weary tramp back to Charlotte, but the men declined the offer and never received any pay for their labor.

"A few days later, in April, 1865, President Davis and his cabinet came to Charlotte, and for a few days this was the Capital of the Confederate States. The last cabinet meeting was held in the building now occupied by the *Charlotte Observer*, then the bank, and some of their last acts were sealed and signed there.

"After the news of President Lincoln's assassination was received in Charlotte by President Davis, in April, 1865, the government broke up and the officers dispersed. President Davis set out to overtake his family and the sequel is historic.

"The navy yard was abandoned, and when the Federal forces marched into Charlotte it was taken possession of by the United States Government, as was the Mint and all the stores of the Confederacy.

"Later, Captain Wilkes was permitted to repurchase his own property (the Confederacy never having paid him for its use) at a reasonable rate. There he established the Mecklenburg Iron Works, which occupied the site for ten years, from April, 1865, to April, 1875. The last castings were made there on the day of our big fire, April 12th, 1875.

(Signed) JANE RENWICK WILKES.

"March, 1910.

(Mrs. John Wilkes)"

Mr. P. P. Zimmerman, of the Mecklenburg Iron Works, a lifetime resident of Charlotte, and one of her most honored citizens, gave Miss Alexander invaluable aid in her researches for data and furnished her with the following list of men who came to Charlotte with the removal of the naval works from Norfolk. Mrs. Wilkes has made mention of some of them and paid a fine tribute to their sterling worth and fine loyalty. The list of names given by Mr. Zimmerman is as follows:

Ruben Culpepper	A. Brewer
W. E. Culpepper	T. J. Roake, Jr.
Henry W. Tatum	Robert Culpepper
Joshua Sykes	R. M. Grimes
Cornelius Myers	B. M. Presson
William Myers	Thomas Dwyer
William Myers	George Dougherty
Washington Bright	Jerry Nicholson
Cope Smith	Hugh Smith
Edward Lewis	Henry Brown
Isaac Sumner	Henry Tucker
John Davis	Henry Goodwin
James Lloyd	Elias Guy

Clay Guy	Henry Tabb
Augustus Tabb	John Thomas
Andrew Hoffennagle	John W. Owens
James Ricketts	Augustus Ricketts
George W. Thompson, Sr.	George W. Thomas, Jr.
Thomas Winfields	Columbus Walker
Charles L. Walker	Joshua H. Hopkins
Michael Holey	George W. Gleason, Sr.
George W. Gleason, Jr.	James Peed
Thomas Peed	John Howards
Willoughby Butt	Marcellus Thurma
C. N. C. Butt	C. J. Rooke, Sr.

And their families accompanying them.

Unfortunately it has been impossible to secure a complete roster of the men who came to Charlotte with the naval works, and who served here from 1862 to 1865, part of that time as members of the three companies of marines. Mr. Zimmerman recalls the names of fifty-one men, all skilled workmen, who came to Charlotte from Norfolk in 1862. There were many others of whom we have no record, who either died, returned to Norfolk after the war, or moved elsewhere; as we learn from Captain H. Ashton Ramsay that he was in command of three companies organized from the men of this navy yard.

Captain William B. Taylor, formerly city tax collector, and one of Charlotte's best known veterans, a member of the Mecklenburg Camp of Confederate Veterans, tells us that Thomas Dwyer, who came to Charlotte from Norfolk with the navy yard men, invented a machine for turning a perfect sphere, a cannon ball or shell. It was the first successful invention of its kind, and was used in the Charlotte Navy Yard. This valuable invention was confiscated by the United States Government and put into use in the United States navy yards, no credit or remuneration ever being given to the Southern inventor.

Captain H. Ashton Ramsay was the officer in charge of the navy yard and Mr. Peters was in charge of the naval store located at the corner of East Trade Street and South College Street, convenient to the navy yard. Captain Richard L. Page was the commandant in charge of the entire station, with his

official residence at the United States Mint on West Trade Street, the latter building having been seized by the Confederate forces, and was held by them until the end of the war. Here resided with Captain Page his niece, Miss Edmonia Neilson, who is still living, at present a resident of Norfolk. Miss Alexander had much correspondence with Miss Neilson regarding her residence in Charlotte, and she recalled those stormy days most distinctly, and gave many interesting and exciting episodes. She is indebted to Miss Neilson for the following valuable quotation from "The Confederate States Naval History," by Prof. J. Thomas Scharf, A. M., LL. D., who says:

"General Page entered the United States Navy as a midshipman in 1824. He served the United States Navy until 1861; then, a Virginian by birth, he cast his lot with the Confederacy and entered the Confederate States Navy, June 10th, 1861, with commission of commander, acting as ordnance officer of the Norfolk navy yard until the evacuation of that place by the Confederates. After the evacuation of Norfolk, Commander Page was promoted to the rank of captain, and with the machinery and men removed from the Norfolk shops, established the ordnance and construction depot at Charlotte, N. C., which under his administration became of inestimable value to the Confederacy."

Miss Alexander has in her possession a wooden anchor and also a wooden cup, which were turned in the woodworking department of Charlotte Navy Yard and presented by Captain Page to her aunt, Miss M. Sophie Alexander, on one occasion when he was showing a party of ladies through the navy yard. The naval officers stationed in Charlotte from 1862 to 1865 were highly educated and cultured men, and they with their families received much social attention from the residents of the town.

The present owners of this historic naval site, the S. A. L. Railroad, were communicated with and permission was asked by the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., to place the marker. The following reply was received:

"I have no objection to the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., erecting an iron tablet either at our freight depot building at

Charlotte, N. C., or in the yard near the sidewalk referred to in your letter, the understanding being that should the property ever pass out of the hands of the Seaboard Air Line Railway, that your chapter have the privilege of removing the marker, if so desired.

"Before putting it up, I would suggest that you take the matter up with our Charlotte agent, Mr. W. S. Bradley.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) C. H. Hix,

V.-P. & G. M., S. A. L. Railway.

Portsmouth, Va., March 24, 1910."

Mr. W. S. Bradley, Charlotte agent of the S. A. L. Railway, kindly acquiesced and assisted the U. D. C. in locating the marker on the northwest corner of the large brick building of the S. A. L. freight depot, facing East Trade Street. It is frequently visited by strangers in our city who, for the first time, have heard of the Charlotte Navy Yard. Thus the marker is serving its purpose of preserving history and instructing our youth and visitors in the remarkable fact, which is strangely unique, that our inland "Queen City" had a navy yard from 1862 to 1865. This tablet is always decorated with Confederate flags by the Stonewall Jackson Chapter, U. D. C., on special Confederate days and on other historic occasions which the city celebrates. This beautiful marker has been of great value in teaching Confederate history to our school children and also to visitors. Charlotte values highly the fact that she was once the site of the Confederate States Navy.

TRACES OF THE INDIAN IN PIEDMONT NORTH CAROLINA

By REV. DOUGLAS L. RIGHTS

The bold pioneers who colonized the Carolinas, truly makers of history, were not, with few exceptions, especially interested in writing history. Not only did most of them neglect to record scrupulously their own achievements, but they failed also to reveal to future generations much that they learned of their aboriginal predecessors, the red men.

We have, in a general way, learned of the traits of the Indian in the Carolinas. There are a few detailed accounts on record. The natives of Eastern Carolina early came in contact with the whites, and the history of the two races was interwoven from the beginning of the settlement.

It was not thus with Piedmont and Western Carolina. We learn about the Indian wars, but there is little to study which will throw an intimate light upon these men, their habits, customs, and manner of living, except the scattered traces which they have left behind.

TERRITORY

The territory considered in this paper is the Piedmont section. The study includes the counties from Orange and Chatham in the east to Wilkes in the west; from Cabarrus in the south to the Virginia line in the north. The level country of the east passes gradually into the hill country of the west. Before the Indians were driven across the mountains or departed, as some did, to the north, this section was mainly forest land with pleasant valleys, well watered and suitable for hunting and fishing. The fertility of the meadow land adjacent to streams afforded advantages for the crude attempts at primeval agriculture.

TRIBES

An estimate of the number of aboriginal inhabitants east of the Mississippi at the beginning of colonization by the whites

is placed at about 280,000. Many tribes, speaking different languages and dialects, occupied this territory. They were engaged in continual warfare.

The Algonquin and Iroquois groups, each composed of various tribes speaking similar dialects, though each differed from the others, were the most numerous.

The Indians encountered by the members of Sir Walter Raleigh's expeditions to our coastland were of the Algonquin group. The Tuscarora and the Cherokee were tribes belonging to the Iroquois linguistic group. Bishop Spangenberg in 1752 passed through a Tuscarora town on the Roanoke River. Indians of this tribe may have roamed the Piedmont country, but doubtless did not have permanent settlements there, as they were at war with and feared the Indians of that region. The Cherokees held to the mountains of Western Carolina. Early reports give account of great numbers passing through Piedmont Carolina, but their stronghold was in the mountain country. The Senecas, also of the Iroquois, came this far south on hunting expeditions.

The Siouan tribes, we know, had strongholds in the Piedmont section. These included the Catawba, Cheraw, Saponi, Tutelo and Manocan. Of these, the Catawba is considered the most important. The Saponi and Tutelo ranged from Piedmont Virginia into Carolina, but the Catawba was a strong tribe of the Piedmont region.

Some small tribes had disappeared before the coming of the whites, as is reported of the Sawra Indians.

Bishop Spangenberg's diary, written at Edenton in 1752, records the following:

"The Indians in North Carolina are in a bad way. The Chowan Indians are reduced to a few families. The Tuscaroras live 35 miles from here, and are still in possession of a pretty piece of land. They are the remnant of that tribe with which Carolina was formerly at war, and part of them went to the Five Nations and united with them. The Meherrin Indians, living further west, are also reduced to a mere handful. Still further west live the Catawbas, who will probably be our neighbors. They are still at war with the Six Nations (Iroquois). Southwest from here, behind South Carolina, are the Cherokees, a great Nation."

In a study of the aboriginal traces left by this vanishing people, it is difficult to assign to what tribe the relics and remains belong. Some may have been left by hunting parties and temporary sojourners. However, the Siouan group should claim the majority. This was their home.

THE SURVEY

The trail of the Indian is easy to discover, namely, follow the watercourses. The Yadkin and Catawba rivers, largest streams of the section, reveal most clearly traces of the Indian. Though the land adjoining the streams has been tilled for years, the mark of the red man is still there. Camp and village sites are difficult to obliterate. Occasionally an overflow from the river performs the work of archaeologist and excavates with a nicety that reveals the secrets of the hidden burial grounds.

However, the smaller streams bear witness also. Choose almost any creek of considerable size, and ere long you will find the evidence of former habitation by the red man. A stream only ten miles in length, known as South Fork Creek, is situated five miles directly south of Winston-Salem and flows west. At no point is the creek more than knee deep. A careful survey reveals nineteen camp or village sites. A thousand artifacts of flint have been gathered in the survey. These fields have been cultivated for over a century.

Following the watercourses up into branches and even to large springs reveals traces of the Indian.

If calculations from these surveys are correct, the Indians in choosing camp sites preferred the north bank of a stream flowing west, the west bank of a stream flowing south, thus securing advantages of weather.

A partiality for sandy loam soil is noted, evidencing no aboriginal desire to become a "stick in the mud."

Scenes of natural beauty and grandeur are often marked as haunts of the Indian. Peculiar rock formations, cliffs, river bends, escarpments and other more or less spectacular natural scenes made their appeal.

It is disappointing, therefore, to record only faint traces of the Indian in the immediate vicinity of picturesque Pilot

Mountain. However, there were large camps at no great distance. The same may be said of the Sawratown Mountains, reputed to be named after a native tribe. But although traces in the mountains themselves are not so numerous, or are more difficult to disclose, yet the longest and most beautifully fashioned spearhead yet exhibited from the Piedmont section comes from the slopes of the Sawratown range.

It may be noted that traces reveal that the Indian did not camp directly on the brink of streams unless on a high bank. The usual camp or village site was located on the second bottom or rise from the valley.

ANTIQUITIES

About 7,000 specimens of stone implements gathered in the Piedmont section have been examined during the preparation of this paper. In addition, pottery formed from baked mud, nearly all now found only in fragments, has been discovered in abundance throughout the region. Ornaments of shell, stone, baked mud and bone have been observed. A few ornaments of metal have been reported.

AGE

These various relics may be classed in general with the type found along the Atlantic seaboard east of the Alleghanies extending from Maine to Georgia.

The search reveals no sign of great age. Traces of a so-called "primitive man" do not appear. Except in graves or caches, where artificial deposit is apparent, no sign of very ancient human life is in evidence. One report showed that an arrowhead was found seven feet below the surface, but further investigation revealed that it lay in the bed of a running stream, where it had undoubtedly been carried by the water. Paleolithic traces are not expected.

However, quantities of these specimens of the neolithic age may rightly be called prehistoric. Many of the artifacts have been shaped long before the advent of the historians. For instance, the lonely white hunter's cabin, which served as the first abode of the pioneers who began the Wachovia settlement, has entirely disappeared. Not a trace of the colonists' work remains today on the spot marked by a plain granite monu-

ment. But the plow has revealed within a few yards of this granite block distinct traces of a former Indian camp. Several arrowheads, arrowheads broken in the making, a crude tomahawk, and fragments of pottery reveal an ancient camp site occupied before the coming of the whites. Thus some remains may be called prehistoric, though none of great age.

HANDICAPS

The deplorable lack of public museums or depositories involves serious handicaps for the student of Indian life in this region. There are a number of private collections hardly accessible, and no large, adequate display for the public. Thousands and thousands of specimens have been gathered and lost. Many of the most interesting have passed out of the State. Such collections as we find are generally poorly classified, described or displayed.

Within a radius of 25 miles of Winston-Salem there were thousands of whole specimens of mud-baked pottery left by the Indians. Today there is only one complete specimen on exhibit to show the ceramic art. This is in the Wachovia Historical Society, and though cracked, is otherwise well preserved, and happily possesses a record of the camp site where found.

Many farmers, whose fields were examined during the past few years, had been plowing amid Indian relics for years, and knew not what these odd bits of stone might be.

It is interesting to note that this lack of acquaintance with Indian relics leads some minds to exaggeration of their value. It is reported that a soapstone pot, which the large museums of the country exhibit in abundance, is being held by a certain man for \$100. At this rate for relics our National Museum will soon rival the United States Treasury. The South Carolina collector, who is reputed to have gathered twenty bushels of arrowheads in a single county, is certainly a well-to-do person.

The writer of this paper has several hundred very good specimens of arrowheads, spear points, drills and knives from the Chapel Hill neighborhood, which were fashioned long before the savage sophomoric yell brought terror to the campus.

He is ready to present these to the University whenever that institution provides adequate museum facilities. At present, the only exhibition of aboriginal remains at the University is confined to the new dormitories recently erected, the mortar of which was mixed with sand from an Indian burying ground.

RELICS

Of what do these relics consist? By far the most numerous are the flint chipped implements. Among these, arrow points, knives, and spear heads rank first in number. Then come scrapers, drills or punches, oddly shaped stones, roughly formed axes, celts, gouges and other rude tools.

Less plentiful are the pecked and polished smooth implements, axes, gouges, celts, etc. The axe, or tomahawk, is usually grooved, sometimes in the center, sometimes towards one end, thus making a snug fit for the handle, which embraced the body of the weapon. These vary in length from four to eight inches, in weight from one to three pounds. The heavier ones require a strong arm for manipulation. Production of these artifacts demanded much time and labor.

Hammer stones abound. These were of a size to fit into the hand, some larger for the heavier work, nearly all having two small pits, one in the center of each flat side. They are made of quartzite, "niggerhead rock," or flint, with preference for river washed stones.

Fragments of pottery are found widespread throughout the section. There are two classes: baked mud and steatite or soapstone. The first appears to have been moulded in baskets of woven grass or reeds, usually conical in shape, then burned. Most of it shows gravel and even small pebbles intermingled with the clay. It is quite enduring and stands weathering as well as the average brick. Decorations sometimes appear, mostly near the rim, in the form of incised lines, small pits apparently impressed with bone or twig, impressions of thumbnail at regular intervals, and some scrolls or tracings well rounded. These mud pots are ordinarily one-fourth to one-half inch thick. The color ranges from brick red to dark

brown and even black. Often holes were punched near the rim for fitting handle. A gallon or less was the capacity of the majority of these pots.

Soapstone vessels, of which numbers have been preserved entire, were made from material found abundantly in the Piedmont area. Some are blocks of stone with shallow basin scooped out. Others are as large as half-bushel measures with walls more than an inch thick. Some have two knobs to serve as handles. More delicate specimens resemble the modern deep dish, and one specimen, probably a burial urn, is beautifully cut down to the size of a pint cup, with walls about one-fourth inch thick, having small holes pierced near the rim for insertion of handle the size of a cord.

There are several soapstone pestles and mortars for pounding grain.

PIPES AND ORNAMENTS

Traces show plainly that the Piedmont Indian was addicted to the use of tobacco. Pipes were made of baked mud, but more often of stone, principally soapstone. A few small metal pipes are in existence. Mud pipes range in shape from the straight tubular to the "L" shaped. The stone pipes are smoothly finished. At least four different styles have been discovered in this region; tubular, Southern mound type, monitor and bowl or vase shaped.

The ornaments are usually of shell or stone, some of baked mud and bone. Bits of mica have been discovered and a few metal ornaments.

Many shells have been found on camp sites along rivers, mostly in kitchen middons, where sometimes a bed two feet thick, mingled with animal bones, charcoal and broken implements mark a former feasting place. Some of the larger mussel shells, still lustrous and colorful, were found. They may have served as spoons or as ornaments. Some elongated shells resembling the conch were brought to light. These were pierced at the end to be strung for necklace. Some shells are cut round like a coin with a small hole drilled near the edge. Shells resembling snail shells, only much smaller, are found in

quantities, some pierced for stringing. Wampum, or Indian money, has been found, shell beads about one-half inch long, half the thickness of a lead pencil, all pierced.

Perforated mud beads the size of a marble have been found, also a few bone beads.

Ornamental stones vary in shape and size. Some are crescent shaped with hole drilled through center. Others are square, oval, elliptical and circular. On some there are scratches or markings, most of them with one or two perforations. A few objects resemble tiny saucers or bowls.

Some few copper beads and discs have been found.

INDIAN WARFARE

Graphic accounts of warfare between Indians and white settlers have been preserved. The following extracts from "The Records of the Moravians in North Carolina," edited by Miss Adelaide Fries, gives a vivid picture of the stirring times in the Piedmont section in 1760, when the Indians were on the warpath:

"This was a year of fierce Indian war, and on the 10th of February the first whites were killed by the Cherokees in North Carolina. On the 12th of March many Indians were in our neighborhood; eight miles away, on the Yadkin, houses were burned; two men were killed at the bridge over the Wach (Salem Creek); two persons were killed on the Town Fork. They had one large camp six miles from Bethania, and a smaller one less than three miles. Here at the mill, and at Bethania, there were Indian spies every night. March 16th, a beautiful snow fell, lying for several days, and then we could see the smoke from their camps. Among our neighbors more than fifteen people were slain. The Indians said later that they had tried to make prisoners here, but failed; that several times they had been stopped by the sound of the watchman's horn and the ringing of the bell for morning and evening services.

"On the 9th a man came, pierced through and through with an arrow. He related that 24 hours before William Fish and his son had asked him to go with them to their farm to get provisions for the families gathered at a certain place on the Yadkin. Some miles up the river they happened upon a party of Indians, who fired at them and shot many arrows. Fish and his son fell, but this man, longing to reach Bethabara, for his soul's sake rode into

the river to escape them. On the further side he found more Indians, but they paid no attention to him and he re-crossed the river, plunged into the woods, where in the darkness and rain he soon lost his way and, wounded by two arrows, wandered for many hours, but finally reached the Moravian town, where Dr. Bonn took out the arrow and saved his life."

ARROWS

The arrows, such as this account mentions, were an important factor both in hunting and in warfare. They are the most numerous of all the implements still preserved and afford an interesting study. The site of a camp or lodge may be discovered by the scattered flint chips, broken from these implements in manufacture.

Whether a flint weapon was an arrow, spear or knife, we can only conjecture from its size. Sometimes the shape shows distinctly that the implement in question is a knife and has been made for hafting. A large arrow or spear could serve also as a knife.

All grades of workmanship are found. Some of the arrow points are so crudely fashioned that we wonder if they were not so made to provoke a smile from some stolid savage. Others so delicately wrought, with long thin blade, symmetrical barbs, or so finely notched that we marvel how aboriginal tools could accomplish the feat.

The flint projectiles examined vary in length from one-half inch to seven inches.

MATERIAL

The material from which they are made is largely flint of the varying grades. Some pure quartz arrows, which are transparent, are preserved. Beautiful white quartz arrowheads have been found throughout this section. This is a native stone easily procured. Many tinted flints, gray, brown, blue, black, with streaked and spotted hues, form a multicolored variety pleasing to the eye. Practically all are made of flint material, which represents quartz in different degrees of purity. Throughout the world this has been discovered by savages as a tractable stone, readily shaped by chipping. It breaks with a conchoidal fracture, that is, when struck a sharp blow with

another hard stone, fragments break off, leaving shallow, shell-shaped cavities. Attempts to use other grades of stone met with little success.

Most of the flint was quarried at considerable distance from camp sites and was carried by the Indians in pieces as large as the hand and of the same shape. These were kept in supply for future use in arrow-making. Piles of these have been unearthed.

Some of the arrowheads studied were apparently made of material brought many miles from the quarry. Some of the Piedmont flint chips and implements of the finer grade, it is quite probable, were brought from across the mountains, possibly some from the famous Flint Ridge quarries of Ohio, from which material has been traced six hundred miles.

CLASSIFICATION

A report issued a number of years ago by the National Museum included a careful classification of the different shapes of Indian arrowheads as follows:

DIVISION I—*Leaf-Shaped*. In this classification the leaf-shaped is placed at the head as being the oldest implement of its kind. This division includes all kinds, elliptical, oval, oblong, or lanceolate forms, bearing any relation to the shape of a leaf, and without stem, shoulder or barb.

DIVISION II—*Triangular*. All specimens in the form of a triangle, whether bases or edges be convex, concave or straight.

DIVISION III—*Stemmed*. All varieties of stems, whether straight, pointed, expanding, round or flat, and whether bases or edges are convex, straight or concave.

DIVISION IV—*Peculiar Forms*, such as have beveled edges, serrated edges, bifurcated stems, perforators, etc.

Following this classification, the Piedmont Indian made a good showing. From a single camp site in Forsyth County 400 arrowheads were gathered. Of the many possible shapes enumerated in this classification, every shape mentioned in the list was found included in the 400, except the long thin arrow ascribed to the California Indians, and some peculiar forms found only in distant portions of our country.

ARROW MAKING

The making of an Indian arrowhead with primitive tools is, to many people, a mystery. It has been called a lost art. However, traces in Piedmont Carolina reveal nearly every stage in the process of manufacture. While there were numerous methods employed, in a general way we may trace the implement from quarry to quiver.

First, large chunks of flint were broken off at the quarry by means of striking with weighty boulders. These were reduced by blows to large, leaf-shaped pieces. These could be transported and finished elsewhere at leisure. Hidden stores of these have been uncovered in the Piedmont region.

When ready for fashioning, the flint was laid on a flat stone which served as anvil. We are told that strips of buckskin or other soft material were placed between flint and anvil to reserve force of blows for the desired portion of the flint.

The work of striking was done with a hammer stone, shaped like a large biscuit, which fitted well into the hand. Nearly every hammer stone found has two small pits, one worn in the center of each side. When the flint is worked down to a size easily managed, it can be held in the hand. Buckskin strips were doubtless used also to protect the hand. The leaf-shaped implement is now ready to receive the finishing touches, to be pointed, trimmed down, stemmed and barbed. The many specimens broken in the making and discarded show that the Indian was not always successful in his efforts.

The renowned Captain John Smith left a valuable light upon the subject of arrow making when he wrote about the Indians of Virginia: "His arrowhead he quickly maketh with a little bone, which he ever weareth at his bracert, of any splint of a stone, or glasse in the forme of a heart, and these they glew to the end of their Arrowes."

These smaller tools for the finishing touches have come to light in our section. One of these little deer-horn tools was cut down for hafting, and showed signs of use.

Holding the flint in one hand, the Indian, with pressure and dextrous turn of the hard bone or horn tool, soon had the small chips flying and presented a deftly formed weapon ready for attaching to arrow shaft.

Different methods were resorted to, but this may be considered the general process.

On village and camp sites the location of the arrow-maker's lodge may be discovered. Hammer stones, anvils, partly finished implements, arrowheads broken in process and thickly scattered flint chips reveal an ancient workshop.

AN INDIAN GRAVE

Although traces of the Indian are abundant, after the lapse of one or two centuries, it is difficult to restore in imagination a camp or village as it actually appeared, peopled with its inhabitants. However, the overflow of the rivers during seasons of high water has revealed quite clearly methods of Indian burial. Such articles as deerskin and feathered ornaments have long since disappeared, but the remains left by the receding waters present an interesting assembly of articles.

Mode of burial differed among the various tribes, and in the same tribe more elaborate ceremonials were observed for more distinguished personages. Practically all, however, instead of following our custom in which personal effects of the deceased are bequeathed to descendants, sought rather to entomb such possessions and in addition to add gifts from kinsmen and friends of the departed. Perhaps a typical grave of an important member of a tribe may be noted in the following disclosure:

The water of the stream had carried away the soil to a depth of four feet. Here a layer of stones was loosened. Directly underneath were numerous implements and ornamental articles. The disintegrated bones showed that the remains had been deposited lying horizontally with head to the east, the body flexed in a sitting posture. The following articles were scattered in the enclosure, which was nine by twelve feet square:

Six conch shells, size of thumb, pierced to form a necklace.
One large, lustrous mussell shell.
One shell cut to size of five-cent piece, pierced with smooth hole.
Five wampum beads of shell.
A handful of small shells, some pierced.
One mud-baked bead, pierced.
One bone bead, pierced.
One smooth, thin stone ornament, pierced at top.
A dozen or more small colored pebbles of attractive shape.
One tomahawk and another fragment.
One fragment of smooth celt.
Three portions of soapstone pipes and one portion of a mud pipe.
Four bone needles, broken from leg bone of some animal and smoothed down to a point, in length from one to four inches.
Six hammer stones, all bearing marks of usage.
One deer or goat horn, cut for hafting, an arrowmaker's tool.
Quantities of mussel shells.
Bones of deer, opossum, dog and other animals, and a tortoise shell.
Large fragments of mud-baked pottery lining the grave.
Two hundred and twenty-five arrowheads, rather small, and as many more fragments.

From this we judge that the departed member of the tribe was plentifully supplied for his journey to the spirit land.

CONCLUSION

Today the Indian has disappeared from Piedmont Carolina. The old folks remember when roving bands passed through and would skillfully shoot their arrows with sure aim to strike down coins placed many feet away by the wondering white men. Today the Indian here is but a memory. Only the traces remain to tell of his departed glory.

NORTH CAROLINA AND THE ULSTER SCOT*

By PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D., D.C.L., LL.D.

*Annual address delivered before the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society, Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia, February 19, 1926.

In this year ringing with the note of liberty, which registers our national celebration of the Declaration of Independence, there is a certain historic appropriateness in an address by a North Carolinian of Scotch-Irish ancestry, in the city of Philadelphia. For in May, 1775, the Scotch-Irish of Mecklenburg County, preponderantly from Pennsylvania, met at Charlotte, North Carolina, organized the militia, and elected county officers who, in the language of the *Resolves*, "shall hold and exercise their several powers by virtue of this choice and independent of the Crown of Great Britain and former constitution of this Province." Eleven months later, April 12, 1776, the Provincial Congress of North Carolina, *first* of all the American colonies explicitly instructed her delegates to concur with the delegates from the other colonies in declaring independence. This continuity of historic purpose—the resolute will to liberty—May, 1775; April, 1776; July, 1776—ties together with infrangible bonds the commonwealths of Pennsylvania and North Carolina.

I was born in the little town of Salisbury, North Carolina, bound by many historic links with the State, which I may almost call her mother State, Pennsylvania. Only a few miles away from Salisbury there lived for a quarter of a century the immigrant from Pennsylvania, the great scout of immortal memory, Daniel Boone, who under the auspices of the famous Transylvania Company made his classic explorations of Kentucky, cut out through the recalcitrant laurel thickets the Wilderness Road, and built the historic fort at Boonesborough. Here, too, lived a supreme exemplar of Scotch-Irish stock, "Old Hickory" Jackson—who served his legal apprenticeship under my great-great uncle, Judge Spruce Macay. If local tradition be correct, however, this Merry Andrew of the backwoods never learned any law—except to be a law unto himself. When James Parton visited Salisbury in search of information regard-

ing Jackson, he called on Judge Nathaniel Boyden; and asked him if there was anyone still living in Salisbury who had known personally Andrew Jackson. "Why, yes," replied Judge Boyden; and sent out for one of his own colored servants. On being asked if she had known Andrew Jackson, Mammy Judy replied: "Lord, yes, Marse Pahton, I knowed Mister Jackson for nigh on two years, and used to carry up his shaving water to him every mawnin!" "Well," replied Mr. Parton, "Judge Boyden tells me that Andrew Jackson studied law in this very yard under Judge Macay. He was a very great lawyer, wasn't he, Mammy Judy?"

"'Fore Gawd, Marse Pahton, dat Mister Jackson was de card-playinest, cock-fightenest, horse-racinest, white man what was ever in Salisbury; but ef he ever cracked a law book while he wuz in dis town, I never knowed it."

As Jackson rode the Carolina circuit—Anson, Rowan, Surry, Guilford, Randolph—he carried in one holster a formidable horse pistol, in the other his entire law library, a copy of Bacon's *Abridgment*, which he kept wrapped up in thick paper. Whenever he appeared in a case, after preliminary remarks to the Court, he would say: "And now I appeal to that final Court of authority in all legal matters, Bacon"—then unwrap the package, produce the Bacon, and read copious extracts therefrom in lieu of a speech. The mischievous attorney, Waightstill Avery, on one occasion, removed Jackson's book—and substituted for it a slab of bacon, cut just the size of the *Abridgment*. When Jackson, as was his invariable custom, opened the package and appealed to Bacon, his humiliation over the discovery of the actual clear-rib side was extreme, under the jeers and guffaws of the court. He instantly challenged Colonel Avery to a duel—which although fought, fortunately had no disastrous consequences. I hold in my hand a photographic facsimile of that challenge, which reads as follows:

Agust 12th, 1788.

SIR: When a mans feelings & charactor are injured he ought to seek a speedy redress; you rec'd a few lines from me yesterday undoubtedly you understand me. My charactor you have injured; and further you have Insulted me in the presence of a court and a large audianc. I therefore call upon you as a gentleman to

give me satisfaction for the same; and further call upon you to give me an answer immediately without Equivocation and I hope you can do without dinner until the business is done, for it is consistant with the charactor of a gentleman when he injures a man to make a speedy reparation; therefore I hope you will not fail in meeting me this day; from yr. obt st.

COLL. AVERY.

ANDW. JACKSON.

P. S. this evening after court ajourned.

Two other interesting associations of this little town of Salisbury with Pennsylvania are perhaps worthy of mention. Sojourners in youth in Salisbury were Jackson, gay roisterer of the border, and young John Hardy Steele, whose people came from Carlisle, Pennsylvania. In early life, these two boys left Salisbury in search of fame and fortune. They met once again in middle life in Concord, New Hampshire: the one as governor of New Hampshire, the other as President of the United States. Two other boys, one of Pennsylvania origin, the other from Connecticut, left Salisbury a century ago to seek their fortune in the Southwest. They grew up with the country; aided in establishing the independence of Texas; and were sent to represent the Republic of Texas: the one as Ambassador to the Court of St. James, the other as Ambassador to the Court of St. Louis, Ashbel Smith and James Pinckney Henderson.

North Carolina and Pennsylvania have a heritage of common pride and common glory. The son of Thomas Godfrey, Sr., along with Benjamin Franklin an original member of the American Philosophical Society—Thomas Godfrey, Jr., is buried at Wilmington, North Carolina, where he completed the first tragedy ever written by a native American ("The Prince of Parthia") to be produced upon the professional stage: at the Old Southwark Theatre, in this city, April 24, 1767. Of Pennsylvania birth or immediate ancestry were General John Steele, Comptroller of the Treasury under Washington, Adams and Jefferson; and Dr. Hugh Williamson, colleague of Steele in the Continental Congress, prominent member of the Constitutional Convention, which assembled here in 1787, author of "The Letters of Sylvius," and the first historian of North Carolina.

To the New Englander, the Puritan, with staff and book, leads in the grand procession of national destiny; and Ply-

mouth Rock looms up as the foundation-stone, the Gibraltar of our national institutions. To the Virginian, prone to trace his origin to belted earls and ancient kings, the Cavalier, dashing, debonair, yet with an instinctive genius for government, is the characteristic figure in the national pageant. To New England and the Old Dominion the mighty war of brothers in the sixties was only a duel between the ideals of the Adamses of Massachusetts and the Lees of Virginia. But this is not the view of the greatest representative of the Scotch-Irish ever produced in America—whose father was a graduate of Jefferson College, this State, and a student at the theological seminary in Alleghany, and who himself attended Davidson College, North Carolina—Woodrow Wilson. I shall never forget hearing from his own lips—all the more remarkable from the fact that they were uttered at Charlotte, North Carolina, on the twentieth of May these words: “America did not come out of the South and it did not come out of New England. The characteristic part of America originated in the Middle States of New York and Pennsylvania and New Jersey, because there from the first was that mixture of population, that mixture of racial stocks, that mixture of antecedents which is the most singular and distinguishing mark of the United States.”

In the future, I venture to predict, the Pennsylvania Pioneer, English, Welsh, German, Scotch, Irish, but preponderantly Scotch-Irish, will displace the Puritan and the Pilgrim, the Cavalier and the Planter, as the true progenitor of present America, and the most characteristic type in our democracy. Beginning with 1732, throngs of Ulster-Scots, some directly from Ireland, but the most of them from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Jersey, poured into the Virginia and North Carolina Piedmont sections and the upper country of South Carolina; and this migration of the peoples continued unabated until the very opening of the American Revolution. A mid-eighteenth century description of these bold Scotch-Irish is found in the piquant words of Robin Jones, Attorney-General of North Carolina: “The inhabitants are hospitable in their way, live in plenty and dirt, are stout, of great prowess

in manly athletics; and in private conversation, bold, impudent, and vain. In the art of war (after the Indian manner) they are well-skilled, are enterprising; and when in action, are as bold and intrepid as the ancient Romans. The Shawnee acknowledge them their superiors even in their own way of fighting." Cautious, wary and reserved, the Irish Presbyterians concealed beneath a cool and calculating manner a relentlessness in reasoning power and an intensity of conviction which glowed and burned with almost fanatical ardor. Strict in religious observance and deep in spiritual fervour, they never lost sight of the main chance, combining a shrewd practicality with a wealth of devotion. It has been wittily said of them that they kept the Sabbath and everything else they could lay their hands on. In the polity of these men religion and education went hand in hand; and they habitually settled together in communities in order that they might have teachers and preachers of their own choice and persuasion.

A highway which in future shall be immortal in the history of America is the route described on the eighteenth century charts as the Great Road from Philadelphia through Virginia to the Yadkin River in North Carolina. Over this Via Appia of epic migration—Philadelphia, Lancaster, York, Winchester, up the Shenandoah Valley and across the James; southward across the Dan to Guilford, Salem and Salisbury, passed for half a century the unhalting armies of restless, nomadic pioneers. In 1863, when Lee invaded Pennsylvania, and in the Gettysburg campaign put the fortunes of the Confederacy to the supreme test, to win or lose it all, many of his gallant army in following their beloved leader were only visiting the homes of their own ancestors and traveling in reverse direction the very route over which their forbears had passed to South and Southwest. Not since the days of Dunbar and Naseby had so many blood-brothers fought as at Gettysburg: the desperate valor of charging men in gray meeting equal valor in the granite staunchness of the men in blue.

"To Lancaster and York counties, in Pennsylvania," says Saunders, "North Carolina owes more of her population than to any other known part of the world, and surely there never

was a better population than they and their descendants—never better citizens, and certainly never better soldiers."

Members of the Pennsylvania Scotch-Irish Society, in token of North Carolina's vital debt to Pennsylvania, I give you tonight "The Great Highway"—from Philadelphia to Shenandoah and Yadkin!

Today the doubting Bury tells us there is no discoverable law of progress; and Inge, the Gloomy Dean of St. Paul's, regards with dismay the standstill if not the retrogression of our civilization. But so long as the Roundheads of Pennsylvania and the South, descendants of Covenanters and Cromwell's Ironsides, endure, so long as the Scotch-Irish flourish and fertilize our civilization, I shall retain my faith in the future of America. Scotch-Irish to the core were: Yale University's most famous graduate, John Caldwell Calhoun; that military genius of the War between the States, "Stonewall" Jackson; the three Presidents of the United States contributed to the nation by North Carolina, Andrew Jackson, Andrew Johnson, and James K. Polk; and that colossal figure of our own time, "the creator of the League of Nations," whose name will be coupled in universal history with the names of Washington and Lincoln: Woodrow Wilson. Vastly more significant in American history than Lexington and Concord are crucial conflicts fought on the soil of my native State by American troops overwhelmingly Scotch-Irish: King's Mountain and Guilford Courthouse. New Orleans looms even larger as the victory of another military genius of Ulster-Scot ancestry; and when the news of this great victory reached the tavern-keeper at Rockford, North Carolina, to whom Jackson had owed a bill for twenty-five years, the tavern-keeper got out the books and wrote underneath Jackson's account the unforgettable lines: "Settled in full by the Battle of New Orleans."

From North Carolina, most American of the sisterhood of States, cradle of American liberty, I bring greetings and felicitations to the Scotch-Irish Society of Pennsylvania, mould and matrix of nationalism, fountain source of Southern migration and Westward expansion, *alma mater* of the American type.



Tablet and Boulder marking the Ramsgate Road, placed by the
Bloomsbury Chapter Daughters of the Revolution.

MARKING THE RAMSGATE ROAD

Unveiling Tablet and Boulder, May 17, 1924

On the morning of May 17, 1924, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, unveiled a granite boulder and bronze tablet, marking the historic Ramsgate Road, about three miles south of Raleigh. The boulder was of Wake County granite, a gracious gift of the Board of County Commissioners. The tablet was erected jointly by the Bloomsbury Chapter and the North Carolina Historical Commission.

The following inscription adorns the tablet:

THE RAMSGATE ROAD
WAS CUT WESTWARD FROM THIS PLACE
BY ORDER OF
GOVERNOR WILLIAM TRYON
WHILE ENCAMPED WITH HIS TROOPS
AT HUNTER'S LODGE NEAR THIS SPOT
WHEN MARCHING AGAINST
THE REGULATORS
ERECTED BY THE BLOOMSBURY CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
AND
THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
A. D. 1923

The News and Observer, of Sunday morning, May 18, 1924, contained the account given below:

BOULDER AND TABLET NOW MARK SPOT, RECALLING
REGULATOR DAYS AND HISTORIC RAMSGATE ROADWAY

Daughters of Revolution Hold Exercises Unveiling of Tablet at Old
Hunter's Lodge, Near Raleigh

DR. COLLIER COBB IS CHIEF SPEAKER

*Descendants of Colonel John Hinton, Who Commanded a Wake
County Regiment under Governor Tryon and Who Helped to
Cut Road to Alamance, Where Regulators were Routed, Un-
veiled Memorial.*

Ramsgate Road returned to its place among the highways of the commonwealth after being submerged under a corruption

of the name for more than a century when the Bloomsbury chapter of the Daughters of the Revolution unveiled a marker at the road's beginning point yesterday morning commemorating the march of Governor William Tryon to Hillsborough to suppress the Regulators.

Two great-great-great-grandsons of Col. John Hinton, who commanded the troops who laid out the road tugged away at the flags that were not yet born when General Tryon passed that way. Master Charles Hinton Silver and Master Sprague Silver, Jr., sons of Mr. and Mrs. Sprague Silver, unveiled the marker. The brief address was made by Dr. Collier Cobb.

The marker, a handsome bronze tablet, imbedded in a granite boulder, stands beside the Fayetteville road, four miles from the center of the city, and on one corner of the handsome grounds that surround the dwelling of Ransom Hinton, a direct descendant of Col. Theophilus Hunter, one of the first settlers of the county. It was at his house that General Tryon stopped for six days en route while his army cut the Ramsgate road through the wilderness.

Assembled for the dedication of the marker was a distinguished company of men and women that included Chief Justice Walter Clark, Commissioner R. A. Doughton, John G. Dawson and members of the Bloomsbury chapter of the D. R., under whose auspices the marker was presented to the public. Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton, regent of the State Society, and a descendant of Colonel Hinton, presided over the exercises.

The exercises were opened with a brief prayer by Rev. Henry G. Lane, rector of the Church of the Good Shepherd. Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton presented her grand-nephews who pulled away the flags that covered the face of the tablet. After the unveiling she briefly recounted the history of the spot, speaking as follows:

Daughters of the Revolution and Distinguished Guests:

On April 26, 1911, the Bloomsbury Chapter, Daughters of the Revolution, in commemoration of its first birthday, presented to the city of Raleigh a tablet and boulder marking the

site of the old town of Bloomsbury, almost under the shadow of "Wakefield," the home of Colonel Lane. This was the first memorial of that nature ever erected in the town.

Today we meet to honor the work of our men who, through their matchless energy, quelled the War of the Regulators. This is the first tablet that has ever been placed in the county to mark an historic spot or event. This time we select the site of the encampment of Tryon's Army, which happened to be in and around "Hunter's Lodge," the home of Col. Theophilus Hunter, one of the earliest settlers and most influential figures in the earliest history of Wake. After acquiring grants of land that comprised about one-third of the county, Colonel Hunter located his home, to which he gave the name of "Hunter's Lodge," in the midst of the grove of trees before us. This modest dwelling in time was replaced by a more pretentious one, which one summer afternoon, after a dinner, largely attended, was destroyed by fire, while the family was in town. Upon the site the present house was built and is now owned by descendants of Colonel Hunter; the name has been changed to "Broomfield."

One hundred and fifty-three years ago, from May 4th to the 8th, the militia encamped at this place for the purpose of recruiting—a rather slow process—and to cut a new road from this point to the field of Alamance, "the Granville Tobacco Path" having been deemed "too rough and hilly for the transportation of the artillery." Tryon's Corps of Engineers certainly worked fast and furiously to accomplish so successfully such a feat, which was largely responsible for the hasty termination of the trouble with the Regulators. In this age of expert modern road-building this proposition seems beyond comprehension, that of cutting a military road of that length in six, or seven days.

These facts should impress our Highway Commission so forcibly as to call forth admiration for the resourcefulness of our antecedents. We North Carolinians have just cause to be proud of our history and our industrial development, in the face of the constant criticism we receive for lack of achieve-

ment in Art and Literature, critics forgetting that only in a state of decadence is it claimed that a nation pens an epic poem, or produces immortal works of Art.

A local daily this week stated that it was the "custom" of the Bloomsbury Chapter to erect tablets in this section. Mr. Connor has expressed gratification that such a commendable habit, discontinued on account of the World War, has been resumed, a satisfactory method of teaching history.

The very English name of Tryon's road has been twisted into the less euphonious word *Rhamkatte*, familiar to all through the *Rhamkatte Roaster*, and also known to many of us by association with "the Bard of Rhamkatte," the late Mr. James Fauntleroy Taylor. Portions of this thoroughfare today are covered by plowed fields, others are in use—a most excellent dirt road, still called the "King's Highway."

To our first and beloved Chapter Regent, Mrs. Hubert Haywood, we are indebted for this resurrection of almost forgotten, but important historical facts. It was she who suggested marking the Ramsgate Road, and the site of the old town of Bloomsbury. It was this research that led to the name of a suburb of Raleigh—Bloomsbury.

To the State Historical Commission we are most grateful for assisting in the erection of this tablet; to the Board of County Commissioners of Wake we are indebted for the beautiful boulder; to Mr. DeLancy Haywood we owe much for his ever courteous advice at all times. To each we extend our heartfelt thanks.

THE RAMSGATE ROAD

Speech of Collier Cobb, May 17, 1924, at the unveiling of a marker at the beginning of the road at Hunter's Lodge, near Raleigh.

On the fourth day of May, 1771, Governor Tryon pitched his camp here at Hunter's Lodge, the seat of Colonel Theophilus Hunter, and here he remained for four days or until the eighth of May, recruiting troops from Wake County, and reconnoitering the neighborhood with a view to getting his artillery to Hillsboro. Meantime Colonel John Hinton, always untiring in his efforts to aid the Government, secured the services of the Wake County troops.

Finding that he could not get his artillery over the Granville Tobacco Path, which went in the direction of Hillsboro, Tryon's men began to cut out a new way through the woods and called it the Ramsgate Road. This is the beginning of that new-cut road, its name since corrupted into Ramcat. The men of Johnston and the men of Wake accomplished this task in about a week, the building of such a military road in so short a time being a remarkable accomplishment.

This road is shown on John Collet's Map of May 1, 1770, and it had been for many years an Indian trail. What was done was the making of this trail into a military road. The map on which I have indicated the Ramsgate Road—lettering *mine*, and not on the original map—is the Henry Mouzon Map of May 30, 1775. The Mouzon map was copied directly from the Collet map, the only change made in most cases being the omission of initials before the family names of the free-holders along the roads.*

The road derived its name from the old Ramsgate Road in County Kent, England, which was reconditioned in 1749 when Ramsgate on the Isle of Thanet, at the extreme eastern point of County Kent was selected as a Harbor of Refuge for the Downs, a region of dunes, reminding one much of our own seacoast. The Thanet sands nearby have been a veritable

*It will be noticed that while these maps carry the names of the counties they do not show county boundaries, as these were not fixed until after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

graveyard for shipping in the English Channel, comparable to the Diamond Shoals off Cape Hatteras; though these sands sometimes present a surface so solid that they are then used as a cricket field.

Over this English road the Canterbury Pilgrims traveled, and it is today used by the thousands of tourists who resort to the Isle of Thanet in summer.

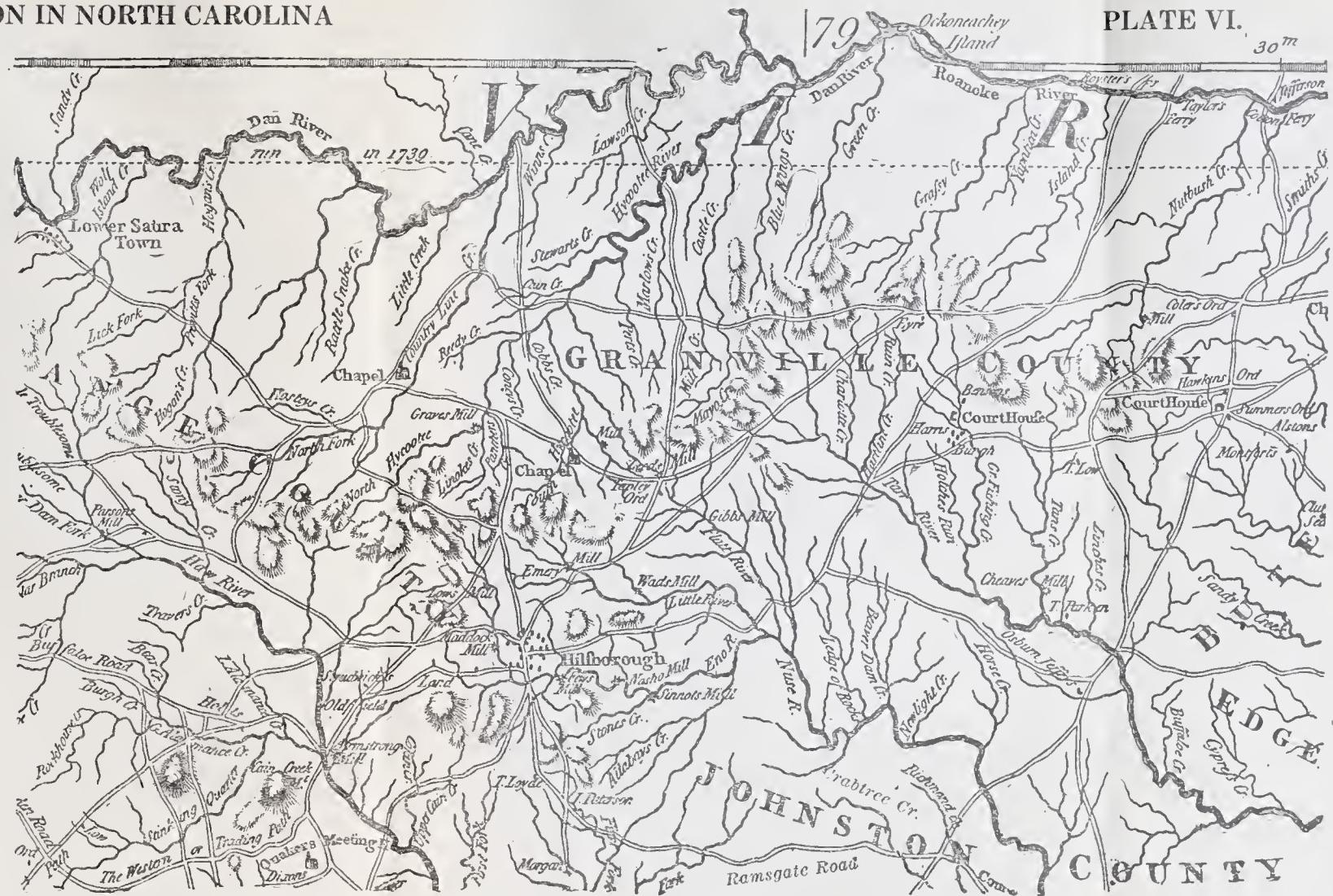
Except for the dunes immediately along the coast, that region of England is utterly unlike our North Carolina lowlands, being more like the hill country through which our own Ramsgate Road was built. The ridge between Apex and Cary, Edwards Mountain, and the Laurel Hills near Chapel Hill, the bluff and "hollow-rocks" near Patterson's Mill, are all strikingly like typographic features along England's Ramsgate Road.

The road that Perrin Busbee is so anxious to see rehabilitated between Raleigh and Chapel Hill occupies in several of its parts the right-of-way of this old "King's Highway."

COBB: TRANSPORTATION IN NORTH CAROLINA

The copy from which this plate is made was once owned by George Washington and is now in possession of the American Geographical Society of New York. It is mounted on cloth in such a way as to fold to a size easily carried in saddle bags. Notwithstanding its high-sounding title it is taken bodily from the John Collet map of 1770 [PLATE V], the principal changes made being the omission of initials before the family names of some of the free-holders whose homes are indicated on the map. The lettering "Ramsgate Road" I have added to the map for publication in *The Booklet*.—C. C.

PLATE VI.



From "An accurate map of North and South Carolina with their Indian frontiers, showing in a distinct manner all the mountains, rivers, swamps, marshes, bays, creeks, harbors, sandbanks, and soundings on the coast. With roads and Indian paths; as well as the boundaries or provincial lines, the several townships and other divisions of land in both the provinces; the whole from actual surveys by Henry Mouzon and others." English miles 69½ to a degree. London: Printed for Rob't Sayer and J. Bennett, Map and Print Sellers, No. 53 in Fleet Street. Published as the Act directs, May 30th, 1775.

cont'd over

THOMAS AND HENRY JOHN BURGES

*Church of England Missionaries in the Provinces of Virginia
and North Carolina During the Eighteenth Century*

By MARSHALL DELANCEY HAYWOOD

Historiographer of the Diocese of North Carolina, Author of "Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina," "Governor William Tryon and His Administration in the Province of North Carolina," etc.

During the reign of King William the Third, the Lord Bishop of London was authorized to draw from the Royal Treasury the sum of twenty pounds to aid in defraying the expenses incurred in the passage to America of every Church of England missionary or school-master who might thereafter undertake the journey. In 1741 this part of his passage money was paid to the Rev. Thomas Burges. When he drew this sum he recorded his intention to locate in the colony or province of North Carolina. This he eventually did, about the year 1760, but he seems to have spent nearly twenty years of his American ministry in Virginia before settling in North Carolina. In this sketch it is our intention to give a brief account of this scholarly and consecrated priest of the Church of England, and then to make an equally brief record of the life of his no less zealous son, the Rev. Henry John Burges.

I have been materially aided in this work, especially with reference to the parentage, early life, and family connections of the Rev. Thomas Burges, by a descendant of both parsons, Major Richard F. Burges, of El Paso, Texas, an outstanding member of the legal profession in his native State and a distinguished World War veteran—recipient of citation by Marshal Petaud, and holder of French *Croix de Guerre*.

THOMAS BURGES

Thomas Burges was a native of Great Britain. He was born in the parish of Standon, in Staffordshire, on the 6th day of September, 1712. He was the third son and fourth child of John Burges and his wife, Dorothy Lovatt, who had been married in Standon Parish on October 1, 1707.

In early manhood Thomas Burges felt called to the ministry of the Church of England, and later decided to go into the mission field of America. This, as already stated, he accordingly did.

We regret that we are unable to learn the full details of the career of Mr. Burges in Virginia. It is probable that all of his labors were in the tide-water section of that province. It is only occasionally that we find reference to him in the Virginia records. In his work, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families in Virginia*, Bishop Meade makes brief mention of him, saying: "In the year 1758, we find a Rev. Thomas Burgess [sic] minister of the undivided Nottoway Parish"—in Southampton County. He was assistant minister in Nansemond County for a short while prior to 1760. While pursuing his sacred calling Parson Burges also conducted a school. One of the pupils in a Virginia school he taught was Martha Dandridge. In later years this lady became the wife of General George Washington.

At "Indian Springs" (probably in Virginia) Mr. Burges was united in marriage with his first wife on the 6th of September, 1742. We cannot ascertain the surname of this lady. Her given name was Miriam. She died October 20, 1758, aged forty-two years. By this marriage Mr. Burges had a son and two daughters. Of his son, Henry John Burges, we shall speak later on in a separate sketch, as a follower of his father's foot-steps into the sacred ministry. One of the daughters, Annie Maria Burges, married Colonel Lawrence Baker, a Revolutionary patriot of Gates County, North Carolina, and has numerous descendants now living. The other daughter, Dorothy Miriam Burges, married Colonel John Bradford, of Halifax County, North Carolina, also a Revolutionary patriot. Both of Dorothy's children died without issue.

As already stated, Mr. Burges settled in North Carolina about 1760. In that year he married his second wife, Mary Haywood, of Conoconarie, Halifax County, a daughter of Colonel John Haywood and his wife, Mary Lovatt. Colonel Haywood, who died in 1758, had been church-warden of Edgecombe Parish before its division. By this second wife, Mary

Haywood, Mr. Burges left an only son, Lovatt Burges (1762-1807), who in later years became Clerk of the Court of Halifax County. Lovatt Burges was married three times: First, to Elizabeth Irwin, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Irwin, killed at the Battle of Germantown. By her he left two sons, Thomas Burges, attorney at law, who married, but died without issue, and Henry Irwin Burges, who changed his name to Henry Lewis Irwin by Chapter 115 of the Laws of 1811, married Dolly Foreman, and died without issue. By his second wife, Priscilla Maney, of Maney's Neck, Hertford County, Lovatt Burges left an only son, who died young. By his third wife, Mrs. Sarah Black, *néé* Lucas, Lovatt Burges had three sons and three daughters, from whom are descended a numerous posterity, among whom are members of the families of Burges, Williams, Joyner, Austin, Alston, Long, Perry, and many others.

Though much under age at the time, Lovatt Burges fought through the latter part of the Revolutionary War, and was present in the forces of General Gates when that officer's army was defeated at the disastrous battle of Camden, August 16, 1780. In that fight a musket, carried by young Burges, was shattered by a shot from the ranks of the enemy. Alluding to General Isaac Gregory's North Carolina brigade at Camden, the English historian, Roger Lamb, wrote: "In justice to the North Carolina militia it should be remarked that part of the Brigade commanded by General Gregory acquitted themselves well. They formed immediately on the left of the Continentals, and kept the field while they had a cartridge to fire. Gregory himself was twice wounded by a bayonet in bringing off his men. Several of his regiment and many of his brigade, who were made prisoners, had no wounds except from bayonets."

In October, 1759, the church-wardens and vestry of Edgecombe Parish, in Halifax County, North Carolina, wishing to secure the services of Parson Burges, had entered into a contract with him, agreeing to pay him a yearly salary of one hundred pounds, proclamation money, and twenty pounds per annum additional in lieu of a glebe. This was a smaller salary than was received by other clergymen in the province, and the Colonial Assembly of North Carolina in 1764 passed an act authorizing the church-wardens and vestry to increase it.

The territory embraced within the present counties of Edgecombe and Halifax, was originally one county, Edgecombe. Under the established Church of England, Edgecombe County was designated Edgecombe Parish. In 1756 Edgecombe County was divided into two parishes—one retaining the old name of Edgecombe Parish, and the new one being called St. Mary's Parish. When Halifax County was formed out of Edgecombe County in 1758, the name St. Mary's Parish, for some unaccountable reason, was retained in Edgecombe County, and Edgecombe Parish was thrown into Halifax County.

For a number of years after his arrival in North Carolina, Parson Burges taught school in addition to performing his duties in the sacred ministry. This added to his income. Many were the bearers of honored names in the succeeding generation who in youth had been taught by him.

Parson Burges ministered regularly in Edgecombe County, and also in Edgecombe Parish, Halifax County, after the two counties and parishes were separated. His parish church was in the town of Halifax, and there were a number of outlying mission stations where he officiated. The church building at Halifax was a small and unimposing wooden structure. It was probably built in 1757, when the plantation of James Leslie, on the Roanoke River, was laid out into town lots and formed into the town of Halifax. By the act of incorporation the town commissioners were authorized to set apart four acres for a market place "and other public buildings," which probably included the church. (Chapter V, Laws of 1757; act published in full in F. X. Martin's Collection of Private Acts, page 30.) This old church contained a rear gallery; it also had an octagonal sounding-board over the pulpit—an unnecessary piece of equipment for so small a building. The church remained standing about a century and a half, though it was abandoned for a new building during the last fifty or more years of its existence. It finally fell into complete decay, and collapsed about the year 1911. Underneath it were several old graves, marked by monuments. It was not until many years after the Revolution that another parish was organized in the town of Halifax. It was called St. Mark's, and was admitted as a parish of the

Protestant Episcopal Church by the North Carolina Diocesan Convention of 1822. It is now a mission station under the care of the rector of Trinity Church, Scotland Neck.

In Colonial days, when there were no bishops in America, it was necessary for a person to go to England to obtain the rite of confirmation. As a vast majority could not make this long journey, the Colonial clergy availed themselves of the rubrical authority to admit to the holy communion those who were "ready and desirous to be confirmed."

Parson Burges labored long and faithfully at his sacred calling before he was summoned to his final reward. He had for his parishioners members of such noted families as Ashe, Davie, Montfort, Jones, Long, Alston, Hill, Bradford, Sitgreaves, and others of like standing, as well as people in the humbler walks of life. Some years after the Revolution the Church in North Carolina almost flickered out, and its resuscitation was made easier by a lingering knowledge of the principles of Anglicanism, which Mr. Burges and his clerical contemporaries had inculcated in season and out-of-season in the old Colonial days.

Mr. Burges was one of the few Church of England clergy in North Carolina who did not draw a stipend from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His son, however, the Rev. Henry John Burges, to whom we shall refer later on, was a beneficiary of that organization.

Parson Burges died on the 13th of November, 1779; and his widow, Mary Haywood Burges, died on December 19, 1786. To judge by his will, the parson was not as destitute of this world's goods as were some missionaries in the province. Among his bequests were several tracts of land, twenty-four slaves, a riding-chair and harness, furniture, silver spoons, etc. From the considerable amount of his property it would appear that he was possessed of private means in addition to his income as clergyman and schoolmaster, for out of the limited salary paid him in paper currency or "proclamation money," it would be difficult for him to lay aside a competency. Goldsmith's "village preacher," who was "passing rich with forty pounds a year," received better pay than did old Parson Burges with his hundred or two pounds in the home-made currency of North

Carolina. The paper money of the province was low enough in value, but it had not descended to the point which it reached a few years later, during the Revolution, when the Legislature paid Colonel Joel Lane fifteen thousand pounds in North Carolina paper money, for two or three weeks' rent on a four-room house, with pasturage for the assemblymen's horses included.

We may add that one plot of land, formerly owned by Parson Burges, is now used in a way which would be much to his liking. When Tarboro, in Edgecombe County, was laid out in 1760, Mr. Burges became a purchaser of this lot. It descended to his grandson, Thomas Burges (son of Lovatt), who in 1834, deeded it to trustees as a site for the original building of Calvary Church, an old structure which is still standing. More land was later added to this lot, and on this addition the present Calvary Church and parish house are erected. Calvary Church is now one of the largest and most active parishes in the Diocese of North Carolina.

Parson Burges was beloved and respected while living; and now, after the lapse of nearly a century and a half since his death, his memory is still cherished with affection by members of his communion in Halifax and Edgecombe counties. Writing to the Lord Bishop of London on January 15, 1768, Governor Tryon referred to him as "a clergyman of worth, and much respected." In an address delivered at Tarboro in 1892, Dr. Cheshire, now Bishop, referred to Mr. Burges and some of his co-laborers, saying: "No better men have ever served God and their fellow-men in North Carolina."

Having now finished the story of Thomas Burges, we shall have a word to say of his no less worthy son, Henry John Burges, also a missionary of the Church of England, first in North Carolina and then in Virginia.

HENRY JOHN BURGES

As has already been stated, the Rev. Henry John Burges was the elder son (and only son of first marriage) of the Rev. Thomas Burges, subject of the preceding sketch. He was born

on the 28th of November, 1744, probably in Virginia. He was a boy nearly grown when his father settled permanently in Halifax County, North Carolina. He was doubtless educated under his father, who, as already stated, was a school teacher as well as a minister of the Gospel.

It was, no doubt, one of the greatest joys of the life of old Parson Burges when his son decided to follow his example and enter the sacred ministry. In January, 1768, young Henry John Burges set out for England to obtain ordination. He was armed with letters of recommendation from Governor Tryon and from his father, old Parson Burges. He was accompanied by Francis Johnston, journeying to England for the same purpose. These young men were made deacons and ordained priests by the Lord Bishop of London, and in due time returned to North Carolina. In July, 1770, Johnston located in Bertie County, as rector of Society Parish—named in honor of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel—and remained there until the Fall of 1777, when he went an exile to the West Indies rather than take the oath of allegiance to the new State Government. Burges, on the contrary, as will be shown later, became a pronounced Whig in the Revolution.

In May, 1769, almost immediately after his ordination, Henry John Burges became rector of St. Mary's Parish, Edgecombe County, a part of his father's old field of endeavor, by presentation from Governor Tryon. There he labored faithfully at his calling for little more than a year, and then went to Virginia. In Virginia he settled in Newport Parish, near the town of Smithfield, in Isle of Wight County, in 1770, and there had charge of the Old Brick Church, which some years after the Revolution was renamed St. Luke's Church, and is so called today. This church is believed to be the oldest Anglican house of worship in the United States still used for religious purposes. It was built in 1632, and is still standing, being under the care of the rector of Christ Church, in the neighboring town of Smithfield. While rector of this old church, Mr. Burges officiated once a month at Holy Neck Chapel, Nansemond County, in 1774. He remained with the church near Smithfield, for a few years, and removed to the adjacent county of Southampton

in 1776, or thereabouts. Southampton County had been cut out of Isle of Wight County in 1752. At that time (1752) Nottoway Parish covered the whole county of Southampton; and, as already stated, the father of Mr. Burges (Rev. Thomas Burges) had at one time been rector of the undivided parish of Nottoway. By an enactment of the Virginia Colonial Assembly of 1762, Nottoway Parish was divided into the two parishes of Nottoway and St. Luke's. In 1778 Mr. Burges removed from Southampton County, and settled in Nansemond County. In the work entitled *Colonial Churches in the Original Colony of Virginia*, in a monograph by the Rev. Joseph B. Dunn, it is said:

"In October, 1778, Rev. Henry John Burges was received as minister [in Nansemond County]. . . . The ministry of the Rev. Mr. Burges was very acceptable to the people. Six months after he entered upon his office, a committee of the vestry is appointed 'to see if it would be any disadvantage to build one or two small galleries in Chuckatuck Church, as the church is much crowded and there is so large a congregation commonly attending the church that there is not room in the pews for their reception'."

When the War of the Revolution was approaching, Mr. Burges entered heart and soul into the movement which led to independence. As early as 1774, he was a member of the Committee of Safety of Isle of Wight County, remained in that body in the following year, and served until his removal to Southampton County, about the year 1776. He was one of the signers, in 1774, of a series of resolutions endorsing the action of the House of Burgesses which the Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, had dissolved for what he regarded as treasonable sentiments. Among the signers of these patriotic resolutions were a number of clergymen of the Church of England. At one time, as we learn from Bishop Meade, Mr. Burges was a prisoner of war in the hands of the British.

During the Revolution, or shortly thereafter, Mr. Burges returned to Southampton County. In his work *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, Bishop Meade gives an interesting account of the ministerial and educational work of

Mr. Burges in Southampton County. This account (including the customary misspelling of the surname of Mr. Burges) is as follows:

"During the war the Rev. Henry John Burgess, who had been before ministering in Newport Parish, Isle of Wight, moved into Southampton, and there both preached the Gospel and instructed the youth. He probably preached at all the churches in the two parishes, and supported himself by teaching, as the salaries of the ministers were very badly paid during the war, if at all, and many of them ceased to preach. There were not less than seven churches in the two parishes, including one built under his auspices. The name of five of them were Lecock, Oberry's, Simmons's, Jones's, and Millfield. The latter, Millfield, was near his residence, and is now in possession of the Baptists. All the rest have passed away. Mr. Burgess's school was held in high esteem. Among those which were educated in it we may mention one of the late Presidents, William Henry Harrison. To the number of patriotic ministers we may surely add the Rev. Mr. Burgess; for so zealously did he advocate the cause of America, both privately and publicly, that the British got possession of him during the war, and kept him a prisoner until the close of it."

Millfield Church, which (as just mentioned by Bishop Meade) had been taken possession of by the Baptists, finally rotted down or was torn down, and a new house of worship known as Millfield Baptist Church, was erected on or near its site.

Mr. Burges was the holder of a considerable amount of real estate in Southampton, as the records of that county show. On May 31, 1778, Thomas Williamson conveyed to him 771 acres of land; on August 9, 1782, John Lane conveyed to him 320 acres; on March 7, 1785, Henry John Burges and Sarah, his wife, then residing in Southwark Parish, Surry County, conveyed 299 acres to Joseph Washington; and on April 2, 1791, Henry John Burges and Sarah, his wife, of Nottoway Parish, Southampton County, conveyed 120 acres to Samuel Kello. In a deed indexed "Burges & wife to Trustees of Millfield Chappel," dated December 5, 1791, Mr. and Mrs. Burges conveyed to Edmund Tyler, Samuel Kello, and William Boykin, trustees, two acres on which various and sundry persons had subscribed

for the building of a chapel and school house, land to be put to no other use and purpose whatsoever. In Order Book No. 6, page 498, December 11, 1777, it appears that "The Reverend George Gurley and the Reverend Henry John Burges this day took the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth, as prescribed by a late Act of the General Assembly in that case made and provided." For these extracts from the court records the present writer is indebted to the kindness of Barclay Pretlow, Esq., attorney at law in the town of Franklin, Southampton County.

A short while after the Revolution, Mr. Burges lived in Surry County, Virginia, and remained there certainly three years—possibly longer. In the year 1785, he appeared in the convention of the Church in Virginia as minister of Southwark Parish in Surry. This convention (held before Virginia had a bishop) was probably the only one which Mr. Burges ever attended, but he took an active part in the deliberations of that body. He was member of committee to prepare address to the followers of the Church in Virginia; of committee to prepare rules for the order, government, and discipline of the Church; of committee on balloting; and received a small vote as clerical deputy to a forthcoming general convention.

The Rev. Henry John Burges was three times married. His first wife, Ann Geddy, of Halifax, North Carolina, died without surviving issue, on Christmas Day, 1771, and is interred in the burial ground of Bruton Church in Williamsburg, Virginia. His second wife, Judith Driver, of Virginia, died without issue. His third wife was Sarah Jones, of Southampton County, Virginia, youngest daughter of Albridgton Jones, Sr., and a sister of Lieutenant Albridgton Jones, of the Virginia Continental Line, an original member of the Virginia State Society of the Cincinnati. Of this lady (Mrs. Burges, *néé* Jones) it was said by one who knew her: "She was of a cheerful disposition, disposed to look on the bright side of things, and with great felicity imparted to others her own happy mood." By the marriage last mentioned, with Sarah Jones, the Rev. Henry John Burges had two children: Albridgton Samuel Hardy Burges, who became an eminent practitioner of medicine and surgery, and of whom we shall speak presently; and an only daughter,

Elizabeth Matilda, who married Captain Richard Kello, of Southampton County, Virginia. Both of these children left descendants.

Dr. Albridgton S. H. Burges, above mentioned as the only son of the Rev. Henry John Burges, was a student at the University of North Carolina from 1805 till 1809. He later studied medicine and then settled in Raleigh, North Carolina, for the practice of his profession. In his new home he soon gained the front rank among the medical men of his day. During the War of 1812-15, Governor William Hawkins commissioned him (April 16, 1814) to the post of "Physician and Surgeon General" of the North Carolina Militia. Dr. Burges hailed with joy and satisfaction the revival of the Church in North Carolina; and, when the parish of Christ Church, in Raleigh, was organized on August 1, 1821, he was chosen a member of the first vestry. He was also elected lay delegate to represent Christ Church in the Diocesan Conventions of North Carolina in the years 1822, 1823 and 1824. He was an active committee worker in these conventions. He first married Mary Gilmour, daughter of William Gilmour, of Halifax, North Carolina, and a granddaughter of Lieutenant-Colonel John Geddy, an active patriot of the Revolution, who also resided at Halifax. This lady died in Raleigh on December 3, 1822, aged twenty-nine years, and is buried in the Old Graveyard in that city. After her death, Dr. Burges returned to Southampton County, Virginia, and was married a second time (April 2, 1833) to Louisa Wellons. He survived his second marriage more than thirty years, and died on the 4th of February, 1864, during the progress of the War between the States. He left descendants by both marriages.

Resuming our remarks on the Rev. Henry John Burges, little remains to be said. He lived long enough to see seven or eight American bishops holding consecration through the English and Scotch lines of succession. One of these was the Right Rev. James Madison, Bishop of Virginia, who was consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace (seat of the Archbishop of Canterbury) on September 19, 1790, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Bishop of London, and the Lord Bishop of Rochester.

Surrounded by devoted friends, connections, and parishioners, Mr. Burges lived out his days, and passed to his final reward in 1797. His will is now on file in the records of Southampton County at the county-seat, Courtland—formerly called Jerusalem. In it he appoints his brother-in-law, General Lawrence Baker, of North Carolina, guardian of his daughter, Elizabeth Matilda Burges (afterwards Mrs. Richard Kello); and Dr. Simmons J. Baker, General Baker's son and a nephew of the testator's wife*, was designated as guardian of the son, Albridgton Samuel Hardy Burges. Half a century later Dr. S. J. Baker wrote some personal reminiscences in which he said: "At the time of the death of that excellent man, my Uncle Burges, he bequeathed his only son to my charge—a charge and confidence infinitely gratifying to my feelings at the time, and which I trust has been executed in a way to meet his approbation could he be conscious of it."

Henry John Burges held the respect of the entire community in which he lived, and died deeply mourned by those who had been thrown within the sphere of his influence.

"Remote from towns he ran his godly race,
Nor e'er had changed, or wished to change, his place;
Unskillful he to fawn, or seek for power,
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour."

Long decades have elapsed since Thomas and Henry John Burges finished their earthly course in faith and passed from the walks of men into the bright joys of that everlasting life beyond the grave. The historic Church of England, from which they received their orders, and which they faithfully served for so many years, still lives to enlighten and christianize mankind throughout the world. After the American Revolution its work in the United States was relinquished by it and turned over to

*Lawrence Baker was twice married: first to Anne Jones, sister of Mrs. Henry John Burges, *nee* Jones; second to Annie Maria Burges, sister of said Henry John Burges. Dr. Simmons J. Baker was son of first marriage.

its daughter, the Protestant Episcopal Church, a communion now having over six thousand clergymen and more than one hundred and fifty bishops, all of the latter being sprung from the lines of Bishops Seabury, White, Provost, and Madison—the links connecting the American Episcopal Church of today with the age-long succession of the Anglican branch of the Universal Church.

TWO FAVORITE OLD POEMS*

Miss Violet Alexander copies two of Philo Henderson's most beautiful poems, "The Flower of the Catawba," and "The Flower Hath Fallen"—worthy of every scrap-book in North Carolina.

These beautiful lines—real love lyrics—should be preserved in Mecklenburg's literature, for they were written by one of her most brilliant sons—a gifted poet—Philo Henderson, and commemorate a beautiful romance. The story that goes with the two poems is this:

"There were two beautiful and wealthy young girls of Mecklenburg in the fifties—Misses Susan and Addie McLeary, first cousins and daughters of Messrs. John and William McLeary, respectively, who were two of Mecklenburg County's most prominent and wealthy men. These girls were famed for their great beauty of face and form and also loveliness of character. They were much sought after and had so many suitors that they were acknowledged belles of their day.

"Young Philo Henderson, a splendid and gifted young man, fell violently in love with Addie McLeary, and after a stormy courtship, with keen competition, won her heart. It was then that he wrote the first poem, entitled, 'The Flower of the Catawba.' Everything was moving on happily and the young couple had completed their plans for their wedding and the day was almost at hand when suddenly Miss Addie McLeary was stricken with a fatal malady and in a few hours the beautiful young girl was dead. Her frantic lover had rushed to her bedside, but too late to be recognized by his beloved. His grief was inconsolable, and during this period of his life he wrote the second poem, entitled 'The Flower Hath Fallen.'

"So great was Mr. Henderson's grief that his health rapidly failed and in a few months he passed away—all who knew him saying 'He died of a broken heart.'

VIOLET G. ALEXANDER.

"September 12, 1925."

*These two poems and this famous love story are great favorites in this part of North Carolina, and were often recounted by the people of the last generation. They should be added to our North Carolina literature.—V. G. A.

*First Poem***"THE FLOWER OF THE CATAWBA"**

(By Philo Henderson)

Down in a fair romantic vale,
Where willows weep and to the gale
Their sighing branches fling,
A peerless flower unfolds its leaves,
When eve her mystic mantle weaves,
And twilight waves its wing.

And long, bright, sunny years have flown
O'er its sweet head, and each one strown
On its pure leaves fresh bloom,
And many a soft and balmy breeze
From off Catawba's flowery leas
Has breath'd on it perfume.

And never, since that golden morn
When earliest flowers of time were born
'Neath Eden's cloudless sky,
Has evening shed its weeping dew,
Or stars looked from their homes of blue,
On one with it could vie.

For that sweet flower, the silvery wave
That weeps beneath the Indians' grave,
And echoes still lies song
As it sweeps onward to the sea,
Pours strains of plaintive melody
Its winding shores along.

To it, was at its natal hour,
By her who reigns in Flora's bower
Immortal beauty given;
And when, from off its native shore,
It greets the evening star no more,
Where Eden's sunny waters pour,
'Twill fadeless bloom in heaven.

*Second Poem***"THE FLOWER HATH FALLEN"**

(Written on the death of Miss M. A. McLeary by
Philo Henderson)

Catawba's flower lies low in death,
And Mecklenburg's fair spotless rose,
Touched by the stern destroyer's breath
No longer sweetly, gently blows.

Addie, the beautiful, is dead!
Pale is her cheek, dim her blue eye;
Her gentle, sinless spirit fled,
To sunny realms beyond the sky.

Daughters of beauty, for her weep,
And let your hearts dissolve in tears;
For long will be her silent sleep
Through time's dim, dreary, unborn years.

Along Catawba's murmur'ring shore
Her voice will never ring again;
Her form will press the flowers no more
Where it so oft has sleeping lain.

Her waving hair, her sunny face,
Her blue, unfathomable eye;
Her low, sweet voice and form of grace—
Oh, why so early doomed to die?

Her spirit's pure and holy ray
Up the eternal vault doth rise;
And brightly, evermore 'twill play
Beyond the starry, vaulted skies.

Onward shall be its upward flight,
High o'er the boundaries of time;
To that far world of deathless light,
Where all is endless and sublime.

And live by the eternal stream,
And never weep, nor mourn nor sigh;
But bask in heaven's immortal beam,
Forgetting what it was to die.

Fair bloom the flowers above her grave,
Light rest the turf upon her breast;
And softly let the willows wave
Where she is taking her last rest.

WAKEFIELD NATIONAL MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

Washington, District of Columbia

Wakefield, in Westmoreland County, Virginia, is the birthplace of George Washington and the place where much of his boyhood was spent; the birthplace also of his father and grandfather; the burial place of three generations of Washingtons.

Wakefield is now being purchased by the National Wakefield Memorial Association. The purpose is, first, to keep this sacred spot from exploitation either for profit or for pleasure; and then to set it apart as a goal of patriotic pilgrimage for all the people.

Westmoreland County, besides being the seat of the Washingtons, contains Stratford, the birthplace of the Lees; and Bushfield, the home of George Washington's brother and the birthplace of Justice Bushrod Washington, heir to Mount Vernon. There the Carter family had one of its most highly developed estates and there President Monroe was born. Nearby in Richmond County is Mount Airy, a superb example of Colonial architecture, built by the Tayloes and still occupied by that family; and also Sabine Hall, the estate of the Welfords.

This task which the Association has set for itself is modest as respects money, but it is rich in memories and associations. Participation in the work, while it makes small demands on one's purse, enriches the participants by giving them a direct interest in the life and training of the generations required to bring into existence that incarnation of freedom and democracy, of high training and exalted service to mankind, whom the world knows and reveres as George Washington.

Already for three-quarters of a century the Washington family had lived on the Wakefield estate when George Washington was born there. And in the two centuries from his birth until today successive generations of Washingtons have owned and occupied some portion of those lands.

Changes in modes of living and in production, the growth of American cities, the invention of railroads, these have transformed one of the most historic counties in all America from a region of patriarchal estates into a territory of small farms.

Hunting and fishing clubs are now seizing upon the choice sites along the Potomac; and excursion resorts not of a high class are springing up. So that the purchase of the beautiful river lands that attracted John and Augustine Washington in 1658 has the important element of protecting from vandalism a spot filled with the most inspiring associations for every true American.

When the Washington immigrants settled in Westmoreland, that county stretched up the Potomac even to Great Falls. It included the Virginia territory that George Washington made a portion of the District of Columbia, and also the lands afterwards acquired by his grandfather, and named Mount Vernon by his half-brother when he inherited them. Thus Wakefield is tied into the whole life of the Washington family.

The plans of the Association are simple and yet comprehensive. There are about one thousand acres in the tract lying between Bridges Creek, where George Washington's great grandfather built his first house, and Pope's Creek, where the family lived when George Washington was born. It is the ultimate purpose of the Association to buy this entire tract.

Meantime, seventy acres have been acquired. These seventy acres include the beautiful wooded bluff overlooking the Potomac and surrounding the spot on which once stood the house in which George Washington was born. The particular spot is now marked by a cemeterial monument erected and maintained by the Government, which also owns a right of way into the enclosure and to a wharf that has long since been destroyed by the ice. The purchase also includes the land surrounding the inclosure wherein are buried George Washington's father, his grandfather and his great grandfather, together with members of their families.

It is proposed to erect on or near the site of the Washington family home a copy of the original house, the foundations of which have been traced. By the terms of the will of Augustine Washington, George's father, the Westmoreland property descended to the latter's half-brother Augustine, who took George to live with him after his father's death. Here the boy learned surveying, the occupation which made him self-supporting at the age of sixteen.

What further improvements to the property may be made will depend on the public response to the project. Obviously the first thing to do is to secure the land, and such is the immediate purpose of the Association.

To this end memberships in the Association, and co-operation in the work of restoration are invited on the following basis:

Founder	\$1,000.00
Charter Member	500.00
Life Member	100.00
Associate Life Member	50.00
Honorary Member	25.00

Active Members pay annual dues of \$2.00, for the expenses of administration. Each membership represents a corresponding number of square feet of Wakefield lands, at one dollar a square foot, the land being conveyed to the Association for the purposes above mentioned.

The Association is incorporated under the laws of Virginia, and all subscribers may vote for trustees at the annual meetings to be held in the City of Washington.

The purchase price is based on the valuation of the lands for farming purposes, \$170 an acre for the river lands and less than \$100 an acre for the remainder. All the money received for memberships other than active memberships goes directly for land purchase. The expenses of the Association are paid by the annual contributions of the active members.

The purchase and preservation of Wakefield is such a patriotic duty that the Association is well assured of the interested co-operation of the American people. All those to whom this circular comes are invited to become members and thus have a part in this good work.

THE WASHINGTON FAMILY AT WAKEFIELD

JOHN WASHINGTON, born 1633-34; he came to Virginia in 1658. The name of his first wife is not known, but it is known that she crossed the ocean and was buried, with her two children, in Virginia, at Wakefield. John married for his second wife, Ann, widow of Walter Broadhurst, and daughter of

Nathaniel Pope, of Gloucestershire. John died about 1677. He was buried at Wakefield, and the inscription on his tombstone is:

COLONEL JOHN WASHINGTON
OF
WHARTON, ENGLAND
DIED—JANUARY, 1677

His issue were John, *Lawrence*, Anne (married Francis Wright).

LAWRENCE WASHINGTON was born at Wakefield; married Mildred, daughter of Colonel Augustine Warner, of Gloucester County, Virginia. He settled in Gloucester County, on the Piankatank River. He died in 1697-98. He was buried at Wakefield. His tombstone has this inscription:

LAWRENCE WASHINGTON
ELDEST SON TO
COL. JOHN WASHINGTON
BORN—1661 DIED—1697

His issue were John, *Augustine*, Mildred (married, first, Roger Gregory; second, Col. Henry Willis of Fredericksburg).

AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON, born at Wakefield in 1694; was taken to England by his mother and returning married, April 20, 1715, Jane, daughter of Caleb Butler, lawyer. She died in 1728, and was buried at Wakefield. The inscription on her tombstone is:

HERE LIES THE BODY OF
JANE, WIFE OF
AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON.
BORN AT POPES CREEK, VIRGINIA,
WESTMORELAND, YE 24TH OF XTH
MONTH, 1696, AND DIED YE 24TH OF
9/1729.
WHO LEFT BEHIND HER
TWO SONS AND ONE DAUGHTER.

Her issue were: Butler (died in infancy), Jane (died in 1735), Lawrence, Augustine. Augustine married for his second wife, March 6, 1730-31, Mary, daughter of Colonel Joseph

Ball of Epping Forest and of his second wife, Mrs. Mary Johnson (believed to have been a Miss Montague). About 1734-5 Augustine removed to an estate on the upper Potomac, which he had purchased in 1726 for £180 from his sister Mildred Gregory, and which he conveyed in 1740 to his son Lawrence, who named it Mount Vernon. In 1835 Augustine was sworn as a vestryman of Truro Parish (Pohick Church was in his parish), and went to England in 1736, returning in July, 1737. He removed probably about 1740 to King George's County, where his will is recorded. He died at Ferry Farm, across the Rappahannock from Fredericksburg, April 12, 1743, and was buried at Wakefield. The Colonial Dames of America in the State of Virginia have restored the old graveyard and have placed therein a memorial stone inscribed:

IN MEMORY OF
AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON
FATHER OF
GEORGE WASHINGTON,
BORN IN THE YEAR 1694,
DIED MAY 12TH, 1743.

The issue of Augustine and Mary (Ball) Washington were: *George* (married Martha, daughter of John Dandridge, and widow of John Parke Custis); *Elizabeth* (second wife of Fielding Lewis of Kenmore, Fredericksburg); *Samuel*, *John Augustine*, *Charles*, *Mildred* (died October 23, 1740, aged 1 year and 4 months). *Mary* Washington died in September, 1789, and was buried on the Kenmore estate in Fredericksburg.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at Wakefield, on February 22, 1732. Not long after his birth, the family removed to an estate in Stafford County, known as Ferry Farm, on the east side of the Rappahannock River, opposite Fredericksburg. After his father's death, in 1743, George returned to Wakefield to live in the family of his half-brother Augustine. Here he remained until 1748, when he became a member of the household of his elder half-brother Lawrence, at Mount Vernon. There he lived until his death in 1799, and there he was buried.

Augustine Washington bequeathed to his second son, Augustine, his lands in the county of Westmoreland, including Wakefield. Augustine the younger was educated (as was his elder brother Lawrence), at Appleby, England. He returned to Virginia in 1742, the year before his father's death, and assumed charge of the Principo Iron Works, in which his father was interested. He married Anne Aylett. He died at Wakefield, April 12, 1743. His issue were: William (married 1780, his cousin Jane Washington, a daughter of John Augustine Washington); Anne (married Burdet Ashton of Westmoreland); Elizabeth (married Alexander Spotswood of Spotsylvania).

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Address all correspondence to Mrs. Harry Lee Rust, President,
2400 Sixteenth Street, Washington, D. C.

SPELLING OF RALEIGH

Mrs. Covington Also Writes about Pronunciation of City's Name

Since there is some dispute in regard to the correct spelling of Sir Walter Raleigh's name, it will perhaps be interesting to know that, in Raleigh's time, there were about fifteen or twenty ways of spelling the name, and that, in 1578, he signed a deed as Rawleyghe, which his father signed as Raleigh and his brother Carew signed Rawlygh. Before 1584, Raleigh's favorite signature was Rauley; after that time, he used until his death in 1618, the spelling Ralegh. In the one hundred and sixty-nine letters in the collection of Mr. E. Edwards, one hundred and thirty-five are thus signed. Some of the other signatures used by him in signing his letters are Ralegh, Rawleigh and Rauley. He never in a single instance spelled the name Raleigh as we spell it today. However, Raleigh's wife spelled the name usually, Raleigh, and other members of the family used most often this same spelling. The Hooker-Hollinshed chronicles of the day spelled it Raleigh and later writers have, with a few exceptions, adopted this spelling.

I have noticed that Woodrow Wilson spells the name Ralegh in his history of the United States, and a recent biographer, Stebbing, uses Ralegh also. If the verdict of the great majority of writers who have had occasion to use the great colonizer's name may be taken, we are correct in our spelling Raleigh. Moreover, English names ending in leigh are so numerous, and those ending in legh are so uncommon that we may take this as another good reason for our modern spelling. For instance, we have in England Burleigh, Budleigh, Leigh and many other surnames ending in leigh.

As to the pronunciation of the name, the anecdote which tells us how James I greeted the distinguished courtier and soldier with an offensive pun will make this clear: "On my soul, I have heard rawly of thee, man," James said, as Raleigh was presented to him for the first time. I believe most Raleigh, N. C., people prefer to pronounce the name of the town which bears Sir Walter's name, as if it were spelled

“Rolly.” For my own part, I believe that the pronunciation used by James, being the one used in Raleigh’s day, is the correct one.

NINA HOLLAND COVINGTON,
*Recording Secretary N. C. Society
Daughters of the Revolution.*

MARRIAGE BONDS OF ROWAN COUNTY

Henry Livily to Elenor Enochs, April 3, 1762. Hy. Levly, John Johnston, and William Williams. John (his X mark) Brandon and (Will Reed). A note from bride's father, Jno. Enoch's giving his consent. It is dated March 29, 1762.

George Lash to Ann Wilt (Wilt Shire?), June 2, 1762. George Lasch, Jacob Lash, and James Vandemereh (?) in Dutch. (No name.)

Peter Lowrance to Eliz. Bridges, April 10, 1764. Peter (his P mark) Lowrance and John Lowrance. (N. B.—I infer these are John Lowrance's sons, and that he is also on bond.) (No name.)

James Leper to Mary Blar, Nov. 4, 1766. James Leeper, Hugh (his N mark), Blayes and Thomas Blear. (No name.)

David Lowrance to Agness Sherrell, Jan. 16, 1768. David Lowrance, John Lowrance and Danl. Little. (Thomas Frohock.) A note written by Reuben Simpson for bride's father, William (W) Sherrill, giving his consent. Dated Jan. 15, 1769.

George Laney to Marey Welch, Feb. 29, 1769. George (his GL mark) Laney, Titus (his TL mark) Laney, and Adam (his X mark) Roan. (Thos. Frohock.)

Mark Lott to Mary Lettford, Aug. 28, 1769. Mark lot, Will (his L mark) Lettford. Jno. Brandon. (John Frohock.)

Aron Linvil to Charity Hutchens, May 23, 1769. Aron (his X mark) Linvil, David (his X mark) linvil and John (his H mark) Hutchens. (Charles McAnally.)

Will Laughlin to Agness Shunson (?) (Stevenson (?), Jan. 9, 1769. William Locklen and Saml. (his R mark) Stevenson (?) ("The Father of the Girl.") (John Frohock.)

James Litton to Ann Thomson, June 12, 1769. James Litten and Hendrey Thompson. (Thomas Frohock.) A note of consent from bride's father, Henry Thompson, dated June 11, 1769.

Hugh Lawson, Jr., to Rebakah McConnel, May 26, 1770. Hugh Lawson, Jr., David Criswell & Wm. McConnell, Sr. (No name.) A note of consent from bride's father, John McConnel, Sr., dated May 22, 1770.

Elijah Lyon to Ann (?) Johnston, April 15, 1772. Geo. Dunn and Robert Tate. (John Frohock.)

Elias Lovelace to Anne Roby, Dec. 31 (?), 1773 (5?). Elias Lovelace and Daniel Beall. (Ad. Osborn.)

William Lackey to Agness Stevenson (Stevenson?), Nov. 14, 1775. William Lackey and William Slevinson (Stephenson?). Ad. Osborn.

Andrew Lorance to Hannah Adams, Aug. 4, 1775. Andrew Lowrance and John (his X mark) Adams. (Ad. Osborn.)

Thomas Lyal to Mary Byars, April 17, 1775. Thomas Lyall and David Kerr. (Ad. Osborn.)

George Lauman to Sarah Jones, Aug. 17, 1775. George Lauman and Jacob Uttzman. (David Flowers.)

John Lisler to Elisabeth Donlop, Feb. 16, 1775. John Lister and Thos. (his X mark) Cribs.

Thomas Lackey to Margaret Stevenson, Sept. 7, 1775. Thomas (his X mark) Lackey and William (his X mark) Lackey. (Dd. Flowers.)

James Logan to Mary Miller, April 23, 1776. James Logan and John Miller. (Ad. Osborn.)

William Lewis to Sarah Reid, Aug. 11, 1778. William (his X mark) Lewis and James (his X mark) Lewis. (Spruce Macay.)

John Lund to Rachael Wiseman, Sept. 14, 1778. John Lund and Thomas Willis. (Ad. Osborn.)

John Langford to Martha Whitehead, June 7, 1779. John Langford and Andrew Freeman. (Jo. Brevard.) N. B.—It is possible that Andrew Freeman may have been the groom.

John Lock to Margaret Locke, July 28, 1779. John Lock and Richard Trotter. (Jo. Brevard.) N. B.—It is possible that Richard Trotter may have been the groom.

James Lee to Mary Smith, Aug. 17, 1779. James Lee and Thomas (his X mark) Jones. (Jo. Brevard.) N. B.—It is possible that Thomas Jones may have been the groom.

John Lowry to Eleanor Lowry, March 10, 1780. John Lowrey and Charles (his C mark) Lowry. (B. Booth Boote.) N. B.—A second bond, or license, says that John Lowrey is a planter of Rowan County and Sarah Lowry is a spinster. It has the same names and date.

Thomas Liarely to Susanna Adamson, March 6, 1780. Thos. II Learley. (B. Booth Boote.)

George Lackey to Anne Stephenson, Dec. 2, 1780. George Lackey (Ad: Osborn.)

Nathaniel Laird to Agnes Scott (spinster), Jan. 17, 1781. Nathaniel Laird and Frances (his X mark) Holmes. (H Giffard.)

Samuel Love to Lilley Mayes, July 25, 1782. Samuel Love and James Mayes. Thos. McCaule.

Jacob Lorance to Rebecca Beard, Nov. 17, 1783. Jacob Lowrance and John Baird. (Ad: Osborn.)

John Loyd to Elisabeth Harkle, Jan. 18, 1783. John (his X mark) Loyd and Thomas (his X mark) Horkle. (William Crawford.)

Nathaniel Lewis to Unith (?) Roberts, March 4, 1783. Nathaniel Lewis and Jno. (?) Kimball (?) Roberts. (William Crawford.)

Samuel Love to Jane Sloan, Jan. 22, 1784. Samuel Love and Robert Sloan. (T. McCaule.)

Mathew Lock to Ann Lock, Jan. 20(?), 1784. Matthew Lock and Mat Locke.

Israel Lyn to Mary Smith, Oct. (?) 5, 1784. Israel Lynn and Andrew Smith. (Hu: Magonne.) 1784.

Philip Lemley to Eliz. Kecher (Recher(?)), Aug. 2, 1785. Philip (his X mark) and Jno. (his E mark) Eller. (No name.)

Richard Lock to Martha McCulloch, March 3, 1785. Richard Lock and William Lock. (No name.)

Jno. Lepperd to Eliz. Lausaman, May 12, 1785. John Lipperd and Jno. Jose. (No name.)

Samuel Lewis to Jean McKay, Oct. 31, 1785. Samuel (his X mark) Lewis and Peter (his l mark) Lewis. (Spruce Macay.)

Edmond Lowry to Elizabeth Wilkey, Nov. 2, 1786. Edmond (his E mark) Lowry and Thomas Lowry. (Jno. Macay.)

Peter Lance to Mary Harlline (Hartline?), July 2, 1786. Peter Lance (in Dutch (?)) and henry Casper. (Jno. Macay.)

John Lowry to Mary Railsback, Aug. 24, 1786. John Lowry and Hanry Ralsback. (John macay.)

Robert Leandsdon to Susanah Bone, Sept. 20, 1786. Robert Lansdon and Hugh Bone. (Mar: Osborn.)

Achiebald Lovelace to Jean Erwin, Oct. 7, 1786. Archibald Lovelace and Evan Beall. (Jno. Macay.)

Samuel Lance to Rosey Lault (Sault?), April 3, 1786. Samuel Lance and John (his X mark) Williams. (John Macay.)

Abraham Lowrance to Anne Swann, April 22, 1786. Abraham Lowrance and Thomas Swann. (Jno. Macay.)

William Lyne to Eleanor Wiseman, Dec. 13, 1787. William Line and Isaac Wiseman. (J. McEwen.)

James Lamb to Mary Blue, Dec. 31, 1788. James Lam and John Blue. (W. Alexander.)

Jacob Lengle to Mary Gruss (?), Aug. (?) 7, 1788. Jacob Lingall and ? (in Dutch (?)). (Wm. Alexander.)

John Lunners to Luckey (?) Vernon, Feb. 17, 1789. John (his X mark) Turners (?) and Arthur w. kes (?). (Will Alexander.)

Isaac Scudder to Martha Owen, Jan. 20, 1789. Isaac Scudder and Saml. (his R mark) Roberts. (WILL Alexander.)

William Lowry to Elizabeth Gillespie, Dec. 31, 1789. Wm. Lowry and Richard Gillespie. (Evan Alexander.)

John Lopp, Jr., to Catharaine Hamm, Aug. 8, 1790. John Lopp, Jr., and Val: Harman. (J. Monro(?).)

Conrod Lingle to Christiana Sevetts (Levetts?), Oct. 21, 1790. Conrod (his X mark) Lingle and Casper (his X mark) Lingle (both of Mecklenburg County). (C. Caldwell, D. C.)

Richard Locke to Jennet Robison, March 24, 1790. Richard Lock and William Lock. (Ad: Osborn, C. C.)

Joseph Geaan (?) to Mary Anne Tenah Ghean (?), Dec. 28, (20?), 1791. Joseph (his X mark) Leaan and William (his X mark) White. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Joab Line to Jean Wiseman, Oct. 31, 1791. Joab Line and Isaac Wiseman. (Chs. Caldwell.)

William Locke to Elizabeth Marshal, Dec. 20, 1791. William Lock and Mth. Lock. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Daniel Lausaman to Elizabeth Leopard, Oct. 31, 1791. Daniel Lausaman and John Leopard (both in Dutch (?)). (Chs. Caldwell.)

Matt. Locke to Nancy Brandon, Nov. 16, 1791. Matt. Locke and John Locke. (Chs. Caldwell.)

William Luckey to Mary Andrews, March 22, 1792. William Luckie and John Andrews. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Robert Lucky to Elizabeth Anderson, Nov. 27, 1792. Robert Luckie and Thos. Farmer. (J. Chambers.)

Joshua Lorance to Elizabeth Baxter, Feb. 9, 1792. Joshua Lowrance and David Baxter. (Chs. Caldwell.)

Henry Lalts to Mary Brown, May 17, 1792. Henry (his X mark) Lalts and David (his X mark) Brown. (Chs. Caldwell.)

George Luckey to Agness Little, Jan. 14, 1793. George Luckey, Thos. penery and William Pugh. (Basil Gaither.)

Enos Lanning to Sarah Warner, Jan. 21, 1793. Enos lanning and William worner. (Jos. Chambers.)

Jacob Link to Nancy Pinkston, Jan. 2, 1793. Jacob (his X mark) Link and James (his X mark) Gheen. (Jos. Chambers.)

Joseph Long to Catharine Phillips, June 13, 1793. Joseph Long and Joseph Lawell. (Jos. Chambers.)

Christian Leopard to Elizabeth Lauserman (Sauserman?), March 6, 1793. Christian Lippert and Martin Basinger. (No name.)

Samuel Luckie to Elizabeth Armstrong, Feb. 21, 1793. Samuel Luckie and John Rosebrough. (Jos. Chambers.)

Joseph Long to Mary Sewell, Jan. 6, 1793. Joseph Long and Hugh Horah. (No name.)

Jacob Lopp to Molly Waggoner, Oct. 1, 1794. Jacob Lopp and Henry Sleighter (in Dutch?). (No name.)

Hartman Livengood to Elizabeth Attinger, July 18, 1794. Hartman Livengood (in Dutch (?)) and Philip (his X mark) Attinger. (I. Troy.)

Zadock Leach to Nancy Lovelace, March 29, 1794. Zadock Leach and James Leach. (Lydia Pinchback and John Pinchback.)

Jacob Leip to Mary Zutman, April 4, 1794. Jacob Leip and John House (both in Dutch?). (Jos. Chambers.)

Samuel Ledford to Mary Herman, Nov. 18, 1794. Samuel (his X mark) Ledford and Laurence Clinard. (Friedrick Miller.)

James Loven to Hannah Bratsher, April 6, 1795. James Loven and David Buckner (?). (Isham Frohock.)

Richd. Luckey to Margt. Gaffey, Feb. 13, 1795. Richard Luckey and Thos. Dickey. (I. Troy.)

Peter Lance to Susana Brown, Feb. 24, 1795. Peter (his X mark) Lance and Phillip (his X mark) Brown. Mich Troy.)

Martin Trentham to Mealy Nicolenson (?), April 6(?), 1795. Martin (his X mark) Trentham and Michael miers. (Isham(?) Frohock.)

Joel Lewis to Rachael Stapleton, Jan. (no date), 1795. Joel Lewis and Whitmell Ryall. (No name.)

Henry Lynn to (no name), Dec. 5, 1796. Henry Lynn and James Smith. (No name.)

Michl Livingood to Ef(?) Hagey, (No date), 1796. Michl (his X mark) Levingood (?) and Christian (his X mark) Levingood. (Jno. Rogers.)

Burwell Wood to Peggy Burkell, Aug. 8, 1796. Burwell Wood and Wm. Lee. (No name.)

Henry Loften to Anne Macay, Feb. 18, 1796. Henry Loftin and Robert McKie. (I. Troy.)

Jesse Pitman to Charlotte Skinner, Dec. 20, 1796. Jesse pitman and Joseph Williams. (Jno. Rogers.)

John Little to Jean Hall, Oct. 24, 1796. John Little and Moses Linster. (Jno. Rogers.)

Jno. Lopewaser (?) to Mary Creson, Jan. 24, 1797. Jno. Lopewaser (in Dutch?) and Nich.s (his N mark) Creson. (Jno. Rogers.) N. B.—Nich.s creson's name is on front of bond but I think that it is undoubtedly Jno. Lopewaser who marries.

Hugh Jenkins to Elizabeth Hudgins, July 12, 1797. Hugh Jenkins and Jas. McLaughlin. (Jno. Rogers.)

Nich.s Lineberger (?) to Katy Kyker, Aug. 10, 1797. Nich.s Lineberger (in Dutch?) Philip (his X mark) Lemley. (Jno. Rogers.)

Abram Letherd to Crade Lauson, April 6, 1797. Abram Letherd (in Dutch (?)) and Washton (his X mark) Lentz. (Jno. Rogers.)

Bostian Lentz to Sophia Frialty (Frielly?), March 14, 1797.
Bostian Lentz (in Dutch?) and Frederick Miller. (Jno.
Rogers.)

John Lountz (?) to Eliz. Overcash, July 20, 1797. John
(his X mark) Lountz and George (his X mark) Overcash.
(Jno. Rogers.)

John Lofflin to Nancey Hall, July 30, 1798. John (his X
mark) Lofflin and William (his X mark) Dalbert (?). (Geo.
Fisher.)

EDGECOMBE COUNTY RECORDS

AMASON, AMERSON

Compiled by SYBIL HYATT, Washington, D. C.

Generation I. BENJAMIN AMASON, SR.

Benjamin Amason, Sr., md 1st Sarah Barnes, daughter of Edward Barnes (d. 1762) of Edgecombe Co., md. 2d Patience. He had sons, Benjamin, Uriah, Josiah, Isaac.

Deed, Jan., 1784. Benjamin Amason and Patience, his wife, to Robert Peele. Grant to Benjamin Amason. Test: John Whitfield, Elisha Woodard, William Dickinson.

Deed, Oct. 6, 1789. Benjamin Amason, Sr., to Benjamin Amason, Jr. "For good will, love and kindness, I have received from him Toisnot Swamp."

Deed, Oct. 6, 1789. Benjamin Amason, Sr., to son, Uriah.

Deed of Gift, Aug., 1791. Benjamin Amason to Uriah Amason. "For the good deeds done him."

Division, Nov. 28, 1796. Benjamin Amason, Josiah Amason and Isaac Amason, heirs at law to Benjamin Amason, late of said county, dec'd, "agree to and with each other."

Generation II. BENJAMIN AMASON, JR.

Benjamin Amason, Jr., md. Martha Woodard, daughter of Elisha Woodard (d. 1798), son of John Woodard (d. 1765).

Division of Benjamin Amason, Jan. 4, 1820. Order of Nov. Court, 1819. Lot 1. Elisha Amason, Lot 2. Benjamin Amason, Lot 3. Martha Amason, Lot 4. Woodard Amason, Lot 5. Enos Amason, Lot 6. Levi Amason, Lot 7. Barnes Amason, "called the Menoah Amason tract," Lot 8. Rhoderick Amason, Lot 9. Tempa Amason, "Carter tract."

Generation III. TEMPERANCE AMASON

Temperance Amason md. Geraldus Shurley, son of Henry Shurley and Elizabeth Davis. They lived near Tarboro, and are buried in the Shurley burying ground in Tarboro, on the place now owned by J. T. Mobley. After their deaths, their four children, Martha, Mary, Henry and Margaret went to live with the Shurley grandparents.

Division of Woodard Amason, Jan. 17, 1827. 1. Barnes Amason. 2. Edwin Cook, by right of his wife, Martha. 3. Enos Amason. 4. Levi Amason. 5. Tempy Amason. 6. Elisha Amason. 7. Roderick Amason.

Roderick Amason and Levi Amason, bound as sureties of Elisha Amason, guardian of Enos Amason, Barnes Amason and Temperance Shirley, formerly Temperance Amason, Nov. 25, 1828.

Deed, June 3, 1844. Barnes Amason, late of Edgecombe County, died intestate on or about April 13, 1844, leaving neither wife nor child nor lineal descendant, but leaving his brothers, Levi Amason, Enos Amason and Roderick Amason, the two former of whom live in the county of Greene, Alabama, and the latter in the county of Edgecombe, and his sister Martha Cook, widow of Edwin Cook, who lives in the county of Greene, Alabama, and the children of Temperance Shirley, who was a sister of the intestate, who reside in Edgecombe County, his heirs at law, and whereas, Levi Amason is entitled to one-fifth share of the estate, he sells his share to Enos Amason. Signed at Eutaw, Greene County, Alabama.

DEEDS

Recorded at Halifax, May 18, 1747, Leonard Langston of Bertie to Thomas Amason, "friend," "for love and good will." Patent 1743. On Toisnot Swamp at the mouth of Fort Branch.

[A large number of deeds recorded in Edgecombe, covering sales by Amasons, who moved South, do not appear here.]

Jan. 24, 1763. Thomas Amason to William Amason. Toisnot Swamp. Grant to Leonard Langston, 1743.

March 20, 1765. John Singleton to Henry Amason.

Jan. 20, 1769. Henry Amason, planter to Benjamin Amason, planter. Purchased Mch. 20, 1765. On Boar Branch.

Feb. 18, 1771. William Stuckey to James Amason.

Aug. 19, 1779. William Amason to son, Jesse Amason. "Part of land I live on," made Mch. 4, 1761.

Jan. 8, 1779. Thomas Amason to William Amason. Part of a deed of gift dated 1747 from Lenard Langston, Sr., from a patent granted him 1743.

Dec. 25, 1783. Jesse and James Amason to Richard Bolton. Signed by Jesse only.

Jan. 25, 1785. Jesse Amason to John Amason.

Nov. 2, 1789. William Amason to friend Luke Bolton. Deed of Gift.

April 11, 1793. William Amason to grandson, Ethelred Amason, for love.

Nov. 25, 1793. William Amason to son, Manoah. Grant 1782.

Aug. 23, 1798. William Ellis to William Amason.

Feb. 7, 1799. Josiah Amason to Isaac Amason.

Oct. 9, 1806. Manoah Amason to Benjamin Amason. Deed of gift from William Amason.

Feb. 9, 1808. Willie Stanton to Eli Amason, Jr., a minor and son of Menoah Amason and Jerusha, his wife.

Feb. 9, 1808. Willie Stanton to Renny Amason, a minor daughter of Menoah and Jerusha Amason.

May 15, 1816. Thomas Amason to Edward Amason.

Jan. 7, 1817. Eli Amason to Richard Gay, Junr.

April 7, 1821. John Amason to William Dew.

Dec. 24, 1821. John Amason to Micajah Amason.

August Term of Court, 1823. Division of Eli Amason, dec'd.

1. Nancy Amason. 2. Nathan Amason. 3. Elizabeth Amason. 4. Polly Amason. 5. Asa Amason. 6. William Amason. 7. Elbert Amason. 8. Lamon Ward, in right of his wife, Sarah.

Nov. 24, 1826. Division of Isaac Amerson, dec'd. 1. Alsey Amerson. 2. David Amerson. 3. Jemima Amerson. 4. Charity Amerson. 6. Uriah Amerson. 7. Elizabeth Amerson. 8. Delaney Amerson. 9. Edward Amerson. 10. John Amerson.

May 24, 1827. Division of lands of _____. 1. Martha Ann Amason. 2. Jemima Felton. 3. Thomas Amason. 4. John H. Amason. 5. Abia Amason. 6. Adah Amason. 7. Whitfield Amason. 8. Children of Cynthia Felton. 9. Edward Amason. 10. Eli Amason.

Nov. 6, 1827. Seth Ward to Elizabeth Amerson. North of Honey Swamp.

April 14, 1828. Sarah Davis, Jasper County, Georgia, appoints cousin, Asa Amason, attorney to receive from Garrett Knight, surviving executor of William Amason, dec'd, what was bequeathed to her by will.

Nov. 7, 1830. Benjamin Baker, Jr., of Edgecombe to Asa Amason of Greene Co. Alabama. East side old Tarborough Road.

Jan. 2, 1833. Thomas Amason and Richard Hocott. For \$1. Tract for Methodist Episcopal Church on main road from Stantonburg to Greenville.

Feb. 21, 1835. Enos Amason and wife Elizabeth to Abraham D. Moye.

Feb. Term of Court, 1836. Division of lands of Elisha Woodard, dec'd. 8 parts. William Batts and his wife, Martha, Henry Woodard, Elisha Woodard, Zilpha Eure, John Peele by right of his wife Elizabeth, Josiah Woodard, Jethro Benson and Henry Benson and Patrick Boyett and his wife, Betsey, Nathan Woodard, John Stokes by right of his wife, Theresa, Levi Amason and Judy his wife, Enos Amason and Elizabeth, his wife and Ann Woodard.

Sept. 20, 1836. Polly Amason of Sumter Co., Alabama to Elbert Amason. On Panther Branch. No. 4 of the division of her father Eli Amason, dec'd.

Feb. 7, 1839. Henry Woodard to Delany Amason. North side of Contentnea Creek.

March 13, 1845. Division of land. Wm. Webb and wife, Sally, John Amason, Lodrick Amason, Patty Amason and Elizabeth Amason. William Ellis, surveyor.

WILLS

Thomas Amason. Sept. 25, 1792. November Court 1792. Son: William Amason ("Manor plantation"). Daughters: Priscilla Whitley, Mary Amason, Ann Singleton, Sarah Hall, Milliecent Whitley, Christian Johnson. Executors: Eli Amason and son William Amason. Witnesses: Edward Mayo, Luke Bolton, Jemima Bolton. Clerk of the Court: Edward Hall.

William Amason. April 11, 1793. Feb. Court 1797. Wife: Sarah ("plantation I now live on during life," then to son John). Sons: James, Jesse, John. Daughters: Patience Barnes, Obedience Baggett, Elizabeth Brantley, Martha Baggett. Executors: Son, John Amason and trusty friend, Eli Amason. Witnesses: Theops. Thomas, Nathan Barnes, Ethelred Amason.

William Amason. March 10, 1811. August Court 1811. Sons: Eli, Menoah. Daughters: Abie Bentley, Ada Davis, Jemima Bolton. Executors: Son, Eli Amason, friend, Garret Knight. Witnesses: Jonathan Ellis, Ashley Turnell, William Johnston, John Johnston.

Eleanor Amason. Aug. 18, 1829. Feb. Court 1832. Sons: Wm., Nathan, Elbert, Asa. Daughters: Sally Ward, Nancy, Polley, Elizabeth. Granddaughters: Eleanor Ward, Eliza M. Amason. Executor: Son, Asa Amason. Witnesses: James Barnes, Cofield Ellis. Clerk of the Court: M. Hearn.

Delana Amason. Sept. 4, 1841. Nov. Court, 1841. Sons: John, Isaac Uriah, David Williams. Daughters: Jemima, Elizabeth, Alsa Johnson, Delana. Grandchildren: Pemima Jane Rogers, Martha Ann Delana Rogers, William W. Amason, Thos. J. Amason, Elisha Amason, Mary Ann Gay, Harriett Gay, Mariah Gay. Executor: Son, Isaac Uriah Amason. Witnesses: Lewis Ellis, Jesse Applewhite.

Mr. W. H. Amerson, Wilson, N. C., says Jart Amason and his friend, Micajah Pettiway, were with Washington at the surrender of Cornwallis. Uriah Amason could remember seeing him.

A Century of Population Growth (1790-1800) gives in the United States in 1790 under Amason, Amazeen, Amerson, Ameson, Amoson, 27 heads of families of 103 persons; 5 families in Maine, 8 in New Hampshire, 1 in New York, 11 in North Carolina, 2 in South Carolina. All of the Amasons in North Carolina lived in Edgecombe County, some, if not all, in the part that is now Wilson County. The heads of families were William, Abraham, Jesse, Benjamin, Eli, Benjamin, Jr., John, Uriah, Josiah, Jr., Josiah, James.

WOODARD

Will. John Woodard. Feb. 11, 1765. July Court 1765. Wife: Margaret Woodard ("plantation I now live on," then to son, Elisha). Sons: Elisha, John, Thomas. Daughters: Mary Lee (daughter of Mary Lee, Margaret Brown), Ann Langston, wife of Lenard Langston (daughters of Ann Langston, Sarah and Elizabeth), Sarah Holland, wife of John Holland (grandson John Holland). Executor: Thomas Woodard. Witnesses: Stephen Cobb, James Barnes, John Drew. Clerk of the Court: James Hall. [This John Woodard is probably the son of John Woodard, Bath Co., Nov. 21, 1734, whose will is given in Grimes Will Book.]

Will. Elisha Woodard. March 26, 1798. May Court, 1798. Son: Elisha Woodard, Junr, ("plantation whereon he now lives in Edgecombe Co., with all the tract of land thereunto belonging patented by my father, John Woodard, dec'd," on Contentnea Creek) John Woodard, ("tract he lives on south side of Contentnea Creek in county of Wayne, purchased at sale of John Weaver" and tract on Black Creek, Wayne Co., purchased of Armerger Hall, David Bond and Robert Simms), David Woodard (tract in Edgecombe on bair branch whereon he now lives) Lemuel Woodard. Daughters: Mary Daniel, wife to Elias Daniel, Martha Amerson, wife to Benjamin Amerson. Natural daughter: Delanar Amerson, wife to Isaac Amerson. Other legatees: "Five children of my son Joshua Woodard," James, Jesse, Elizabeth, Margret, Anna; 3 grandsons, Asa, Thomas and Levi Jorden, sons to Cornelius Jorden, Junr, dec'd. Executors: Sons, Elisha and John Woodard. Witnesses: Archelaus Barnes, Willie Stanton, Robert Peele. Clerk of the Court: Edward Hall.

The Census of 1790 gives four families of Woodards living in Edgecombe County, their heads being Daniel, David, Elisha and Elisha, Jr.

EDWARD BARNES

Vol. II, pg. 641, Colonial Records. Oct. 27, 1726. Edward Barnes petitions that a Lapse Patent be granted for three tracts. They were granted.

Vol. XXII, pg. 240. Colonial Records. Account of the ar-rears of quit rents. Bertie Precinct, Albemarle County from Sept. 29, 1729 to March 1732, Edward Barnes paid £17-6s-6d on 440 acres.

Will. Edward Barnes of Edgecombe County, Parish of St. Mary, planter. Dec. 15, 1760. March Court 1762. Wife: Sarah (her share at death to daughter Patience). Sons: Nathan, William, Jacob, Abraham. Daughters: Mourning Terris, Charity Terris, Mary Terris, Elizabeth Leigh, Sarah Amazon, Patience Barnes, Elizabeth Barnes. (To Elizabeth Barnes, the plantation she lives on, on the Chowan River, during her life, then to grandson Jacob. Other Legatees: Granddaughters, Barbery and Fereby Wiggons; grandson, Michael Barnes, (one tract on the Chowan, adjoining his mother's tract on Myery Marsh). Witnesses: James Barfield, Eliza Barfield, Thos. Edmundson.

WANTED—The names of the wives of Elisha Woodard (d. 1798) and John Woodard (d. 1765).

HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL MEMORANDA

Edited by MRS. E. E. MOFFITT

PROFESSOR COLLIER COBB

Biographical sketches of Professor Cobb have appeared in *The North Carolina Booklet*, vol. xi, 176-180 (January, 1912), vol. xii, 168-170 (October, 1912), and vol. xiv, 107-108 (October, 1914).

Since Dr. Cobb has always led a strenuous life, these sketches are now by no means up-to-date. In 1913 he was in the mining districts of Northern Ontario and made explorations as far north as Hudson Bay.

He has also studied British Columbia and Yukon, and in 1920 extended his study of shorelines along the coast of Alaska and the neighboring portions of Siberia. He crossed Asia from north to south, coming out at Saigon in French Indo-China. He then made a study of Asia's shoreline, and spent some time in Japan.

Upon his return from the Orient, Dr. Cobb proceeded with his work southward along the American side of the Pacific; and in 1921 he extended his study of shorelines and of mankind in relation to environment around the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea, paying special attention to nature and man in tropical South America.

He has thus made a careful study of the shorelines of the earth north of the Equator, and of groups of people on all the continents except Australia. He correlates civilization with shorelines, and holds that the Africans are most backward because of their lack of natural harbors. His studies have tended to accentuate the resemblance, rather than the differences, between different ethnic groups.

His further studies of anthropogeography are awaited with interest; and it is greatly desired that he will collect and publish in book form his sundry essays and addresses in human geography, which constitute a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the earth and its inhabitants.

His most recent service was rendered as a member of the Conference on American Relations with China, held at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, September 17-20, 1925. Professor Cobb has received an invitation to be present at Peking during the Customs Conference held during the present autumn.

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